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THE
COMPLETE WORKS
IN
VERSE AND PROSE
OF
SAMUEL DANIEL.
VOL. V.

THE
COMPLETE WORKS
IN
VERSE AND PROSE
OF
SAMUEL DANIEL.

*EDITED, WITH MEMORIAL-INTRODUCTION AND A GLOSSARIAL
INDEX EMBRACING NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS,*

BY THE
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IN FIVE VOLUMES.

VOL. V.

- I. THE COLLECTION OF THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.
1612—1618.
RICHARD I. TO EDWARD III.
- II. CERTAINE NOTABLE DEUISES BOTH MILITARIE AND AMOROUS.
- III. GLOSSARIAL-INDEX, WITH NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

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THE COLLECTION OF THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND. RICHARD I. TO EDWARD III.

*The Life, and Reigne, of
Richard the first.*

1189. *Anno Reg. 1.*—He began his reigne the 6 of July,
aged 35.

RICHARD surnamed *Cœur de Lyon* (borne at Oxford) succeeding his Father, first seizes vpon his Treasure in *France*, being in the hands of Stephan Thurnham Seneschall of *Normandy*, whom hee imprisons with fetters, and manacles to extort the vttermost thereof. And then repayres to *Roan*, where, by *Walter* the Arch-bishop hee is girt with the Sword of the Dutchy of *Normandy*, takes fealty both of the Clergy and Lay, and then goes to Parle and compose this businesse with the King of *France*, which hee did by money ; and obtayned restitution of all such peeces as had beene gotten from his Father in the time of the late Warres. Besides, for his better strength, hee giues

in marriage *Maude* his Neece, daughter of the Duke of *Saxony*, to *Geffery sonne* to the Earle of *Perch*.

The slaughter of the Iewes at the Coronation.—During this stay and setling of his Affayres in *France*, Queene *Elioner* his Mother, freed from her imprisonment (which shee had endured twelue yeares) had power to dispose of the businesses of *England*, which especially shee employed in preparing the affections of the people by *Pardons, and relieuement of oppres-sions*, and then meetes her Sonne at *Winchester*. Where (besides his Fathers Treasure, which was 90000. pounds in gold and siluer; besides Plate, Iewels and pretious stones) there fell vnto him by the death of *Geffery Ridle* Bishop of *Eley* dying intestate, 2060. Markes of siluer, and 205. gold, which came well to defray the charge of his Coronation, Celebrated the third day of *September*, 1189. at *Westminster*, and imbruied with the miserable slaughter of the Iewes inhabiting in, and about the City of *London*, who comming to offer their presents, as an afflicted people, in a strange Country, to a new King in hope to get his fauour; were set vpon by the multitude, and many lost both their liues and substance. The example of *London* wrought the like mischiefe vppon the Iewes in the Townes of *Norwich, Saint Edmondsbury, Lincolne, Stamford and Linne*.

All this great Treasure left to this King, was not thought sufficient for this intended action of the Holy Warre (which was still on foote) but that all other wayes were deuised to rayse more money; and the King sells much Land of the Crowne, both to the Clergy and other. *Godfrey de Lucie* Bishop of *Winchester* bought two Mannors *Weregraue* and *Menes*. The Abbot of Saint *Edmonsbury*, the Mannor of *Mildhall* for one thousand Markes of siluer. The Bishop of *Duresme* the Mannor of *Sadborough* with the dignity Palatinate of his whole Prouiuce, which occasioned the King iestingly to say, what a cunning worke-man hee was that *Could make of an old Bishop a new Earle*. Besides hee grants to *William King*

of Scots, the Castles of *Berwicke* and *Roxborough* for 10000. Markes, and releaseth him of those couenants made and confirmed by his Charter vnto King *Henry* the second, as extorted from him being then his Prisoner, reseruing vnto himselfe onely such rights, as had beene and were to be performed, by his brother *Malcolm* to his Ancestors the Kings of *England*.

The Kings departure out of *England* toward the Holy Warre.—Moreouer pretending to haue lost his Signet, [he] made a new, and Proclamation that *Whosoeuer would safely enjoy, what under the former Signet was granted, should come to haue it confirmed by the new*, whereby hee raysed great summes of mony to the grieve of his subiects. Then procures hee a power from the Pope, that whosoeuer himselfe pleased to dismisse from the iourney, and leaue at home, should be free from taking the Crosse; and this likewise got him great Treasure, which was leauied with much expedition by reason the King of *France*, in *Nouember*, after the Coronation, sent the Earle of *Perch*, with other Commissioners to signifie to King *Richard*, how in a generall Assembly at *Paris*, he had solemnly sworne vpon the Euangelists to bee ready at *Tours*, with all the Princes and people of his Kingdome, who had vndertaken the Crosse, presently vpon *Easter* next following, thence to set forward for the Holy Land. And for the assurance, and testimony thereof, hee sends the Charter of this Deede vnto the King of *England*, requiring him and his Nobility, vnder their hands to / assure him in like sort, to be ready at the same time, and place, which was in like manner concluded at a generall Councell held at *London*. And in *December* (hauing onely stayed but foure moneths in *England* after his Coronation) this King departs into *Normandie*, keepes his Christmas at *Rouen*, and presently after hath a Parle with the King of *France* at *Reimes*, where by Oath and writing vnder their hands and seales, with the faith giuen by all their Nobility on both sides, it confirmed a most strict Peace and

Vnion betwixt both Kings, for the preseruation of each other and their estates, with the others concluded for their iourney. Which done, the King of *England* sends for Queene *Elioner* his mother, his brother *John*, and the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *Winchester*, *Duresme*, *Norwich*, *Bath*, *Salisbury*, *Eley*, *Chester*, and others, which came vnto him to *Rouen*: where hee commits the especiall charge of this Kingdome to *William Longshamp* Bishop of *Eley*, vnder the Title of Chiefe Iustice of *England*, and giues him one of his Seales, and the Custody of the Tower of *London*; and confers vpon *Hugh* Bishop of *Duresme* the Iusticeshippe of the North, from *Humber* to *Scotland*, with the keeping of *Windsor* Castle, which after gaue occasion of dissention, to these two ambitious Prelates impatient of each others greatnessse. *Hugh Bardolph*, *William Marshall*, *Geffery Fitz Peter*, and *William Brewer* are ioyned in commission with the Bishop of *Eley*.

And lest his brother *John* (whose spirit hee well vnderstood) might in *England* worke vpon the aduantage of his absence, hee first caused him to take an Oath *not to come within this Kingdome for the space of three yeares next following*. Which after, vpon better consideration, hee released, leauing him to his liberty and naturall respect. But hereby hauing given him first a wound by his distrust, his after-regard could neuer heale it vp againe, nor all the Honours and State bestowed on him, keepe him within the limits of obedience.

The great Estate left to Earle *John*.—For, this suspition of his Faith shewed him rather the way to breake, then retayne it; whensoeuer occasion were offered: And the greater meanes hee had bestowed on him to make him content, did but arme him with greater power for his designes. For this Earle *John* had conferred vpon him in *England*, the Earledomes of *Cornewall*, *Dorcet*, *Sommerset*, *Nottingham*, *Darby*, *Lancaster*; and by the Marriage with *Isabell*, Daughter to the Earle of *Glocester*, had likewise that Earledome; moreouer the Castles of *Marlborow* and *Lutgarsall*, the Honours of *Wallingford*,

Tichill, and Eye; to the valew of foure thousand Markes *per Annum*, besides the great commaunds hee held thereby; which mighty Estate was not a meanes to satisfie, but increase his desires, and make him more dangerous at home.

Then the more to strengthen the reputation of his Vice-roy the Bishop of *Eley*, the King gets the Pope to make him his Legate of all *England* and *Scotland*; and to the end his Gouernment might not be disturbed through the emulation of another, hee confines the elect Arch-bishop of *Yorke* (his base brother, whose turbulency hee doubted) to remayne in *Normandy* till his returne, and takes his Oath to performe the same.

Exactions by the Vice-roy.—Hauing thus ordered his assayres hee sends backe into *England* this Great Bishop, furnished with as great, and absolute a power, as hee could giue him, to prouide necessaries for his intended iourney. Wherein to please the King, hee offended the people, and committed great exactions, *Clerum & populum opprimebat, confundens fasque nefasque*, (sayth *Houeden*.) Hee tooke of euery City in *England* two Palfryes, and two other Horses of seruice, and of euery Abbay one of each; likewise of euery Mannor of the Kings, one of each for this seruice. And to shewe what hee would prooue, hee tooke the Castle of *Windsor* from the Bishop of *Duresme*, and confined him within his Towne of *Howedon*, questions his Authoritie, and workes him much vexation, and for all his meanes made to the King, ouertopt him.

The Kings quarrell in the Isle of *Sicile*.—The King takes order for a Nauy to conuey people and prouision to the Holy-Land, and commits the charge thereof to the Arch-bishop of *Auxere*, and the Bishop of *Bayon*, / *Robert de Sabul, Richard Canuile*; which done, both Kings, at the latter end of *June*, with their powers together, take their iourney to *Lyons*; where (their numbers growing so great, as bred many incomberments, and distemprings betweene the Nations) they part companies; the King of *France* takes the way of *Genoua* by Land, the

King of *England*, of *Merveilles*; where, after he had stayed eight dayes, expecting in vaine the comming about of his Nauy withheld by tempest, hee was forced to hire twenty Gallies, and ten other great vessels, to transport him into the Isle of *Sicilia*. The King of *France* takes shipping at *Genoua*, and by tempest was drien to land in the same Isle, and arriued there before the King of *England*: where, those mighty companies of both these powerfull Kings, fell foule on each other, and themselues taking part with their people enters in quarrell and rancor, so that beeing of equall power and stomacke, and alike emulous of honour and reuenge, they began to shew what successe, their enterprise was likely to yeelde. The King of *France* repayring his wracked Nauy, and the King of *Englands* long staying for his, forced them both to Winter in *Sicilia*, to the great pesture and disturbance of that people, themselues and theirs.

William late King of *Sicile* who had married *Ioan*, sister to the King of *England*, was dead (which made the entartaynement of the English there, the worse) and *Tancredi* base sonne of *Roger*, grand-father to *William*, was inuested in the Kingdome, contrary to the will of the late King (dying without Issue,) and the fidelity of the people sworne to *Constantia* the lawfull daughter of the sayd *Roger*, married to *Henry* King of *Almaine*, sonne to the Emperour *Frederick Barbarossa*; by which occasion, *Tancredi* was forced to vse all meanes to hold what hee had gotten by strong hand, and had much to doe against the Emperour and his sonne *Henry*. The King of *England* after great contention with him, to make the conditions of his sisters Dowery the better, enters into league with *Tancredi*, against all men to preserue his estate, and gets in conclusion 2000. Ounces of Gold for his Sisters Dowery, and 2000. more, vpon a match to be made betweene *Arthur* Earle of *Brittaine*, sonne to *Geffery* his next brother (who was to succeede him in the Crowne of *England*, if himselfe dyed without Issue) and the daughter of *Tancredi*.

RICHARD THE FIRST.

The Kings reconciled. *Berenguela* fiances to King *Richard*. —At the opening of the Spring (both Kings having beene reconciled, and new Articles of Peace and Concord signed and sworne) the King of *France* sets first forward to the Holy Land; but the King of *England* stayes in *Sicile*, vntill Whitsontide after. And during his abode (which might therefore bee the longer) his Mother Queene *Elioner* (who in her youth had well knowne the trauaile of the East) came vnto him, bringing with her *Berenguela*, Daughter to the King of *Nauarre*, who was there fiances vnto him. Which done, Queene *Elioner* departs home by the way of *Rome*, and the young Lady with the Queene Dowager of *Sicile*, take their iourney with the King; who sets forth with an hundred and thirty ships, and fifty Gallies, and was by tempest drieren to the Isle of *Cyprus*; where, being denied landing, he assayles the Isle on all sides, subdues it, places his Garrisons therein, and commits the custody of the same to *Richard de Canuile*, and *Robert de Turnham*, taking halfe the goods of the Inhabitants from them; in Lieu whereof hee confirmed the vse of their owne Lawes. And heere our Histories say, hee married the Lady *Berenguela*, and caused her to bee Crowned Queene.

These mischieves suffred these two famous Isles of Christendome, in the passage of those mighty Princes against Pagans, who peraduenture would haue as well vsed them for their goods, and treasure as they did; *But Armies and power know no inferior friends*, it was their Fate so to lye in the way of great attempters, who, though in the cause of Piety, would not sticke to doe any iniustice.

From hence passes this famous King to the Holy Land, with the spoyles and treasure of three noble rich Islands, *England*, *Sicile*, and *Cyprus* (besides what *Normandy* and *Guien* could furnish him withall) and there consumes that huge collected masse, euen as violently as it was gotten, though to the exceeding great renowne of him, and the Nation. Heere for the better vnderstanding this businesse, it is not

amisse to deliuer in what sort stood the Estate of those Affayres in *Asia*, which so much troubled these mighty Princes, and drew them from the vtmost bounds of *Europe*, thus to aduenture themselues, and consume their Estates.

The State of *Palestina*.—It was now foure score and eight yeares since *Godfrey of Bologne*, Prince of *Lorraine* with his company recouered the City of *Ierusalem*, with the Countrey of *Palestina*, and a great part of *Syria*, out of the hands of the *Sarazins*, obtayned the Kingdome thereof, was Crowned with a Crowne of Thornes in example of our Sauiour, Reigned one yeare, dyed, and left to succeede him his brother *Baldwin*, who gouerned eighteene yeares, and left the Crowne to another of that name, *Baldwin de Burgo*, who reigned thirteene yeares, and left a daughter, and his Kingdome in dissension. *Fulke Earle of Aniou* marries this Daughter: and enioyes the Kingdome eleuen yeares, and left two young sonnes, *Baldwin*, and *Almerique*: *Baldwin* reinges foure and twenty yeares, and after him his brother *Almerique* twelue, and leaues *Baldwin* his sonne to succeede him; who being sick, and desparyng of issue, made *Baldwin* his Nephew, sonne to the Marquesse *Monferrato* and *Sibilla* his sister, his successour, and commits the charge of him, with the administration of the Kingdome, to *Raymond Earle of Tripoly*, whom *Guy de Lusignan*, who had married *Sibilla* (the Widdow of *Monferrato*) put from that charge, and vsurped the Gouernment, and at length the Kingdome, not without suspition of poysoning the young King. *Raymond* making Warre vpon him, *Lusignan* drawes in *Sultan Saladin* of *Egypt* to his ayde, who glad of that occasion, to augment his owne State destroyed them both, with their Kingdome, and won the City of *Ptolomeide*, *Asoto*, *Berytho*, *Ascalon*, and after one moneths siege, the City of *Ierusalem*, foure score and eight yeares after it had bin Conquered by *Godfrey*.

Now to recouer this confounded State, come these two Great Kings from a farre and a different clyme, with an Army composed of seuerall Nations, and seuerall humors, English,

French, Italians and Germanes; against a mighty Prince of an vnited power, within his owne ayre, neere at home, bred and made by the sword, invred to victories, acquainted with the sights, and forces of the Christians, and possessed almost of all the best peeces of that Countrey.

The Kings of *England* and *France* besiege *Acon*. And heere they sit downe before the City of *Acon*, defended by the power of *Saladin*, which had beene before besieged by the Christians the space of three yeares; and had cost the liues of many worthy Princes, and great Personages, whose names are deliuered by our Writers, amongst whom I will remember these few of especiall note: *Conradus* Duke of *Suevia*, sonne of *Fredericke* the Emperour (which *Fredericke* was also drowned comming thither) with the Earles of *Perch*, *Puntif*, and old *Theobald* Earle of *Bloys*, that famous *Stickler* betweene the Kings of *England* and *France*; *Stephen* Earle of *Sancerre*; the Earle of *Vandosme*, *Bertoldus* a Duke of *Germaine*, *Roger* and *Ioselin* Earles of *Apula*, &c. And lastly, *Phillip* Earle of *Flanders*; and of our Nation, *Baldwin* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*; *Robert* Earle of *Leicester*, *Ralph de Glanuile* Chiefe Iustice of *England*, *Richard de Clare*; *Walter de Kime*, &c. And notwithstanding all the forces of these two Kings, they held out foure moneths after, and then rendred themselues vpon composition.

At their entring into the Citie, the Ensignes of *Leopold* Duke of *Austrich*, beeing planted on the Walles, were with great scorne taken downe by the commandement of King *Richard*, and those of the two Kings erected; which bred great rancor, and was afterward the occasion of much mischiefe to the King of *England*. Besides, during this siege, diuers stings were ministred, or taken of displeasure, and malice betweene the two Kings, apt to bee set on fire, by the least touches of conceite.

The Kings of *England* and *France* dangerously sicke.—The King of *France* full of disdayne, for the reiection of his Sister, and the marriage of the King of *England* with *Berenguela*;

besides competition of honour (which their equality was subiect vnto) made any jot of the least disproportion thereof, a wound without cure: And daily occasions in so great hearts fell out to worke the same. The Article of *equall deuiding their gaines in this Voyage*, concluded betweene them is questioned. The King of *France*, *claimes halfe the Isle of Cyprus*, the King of *England*, *halfe the Treasure and goods of the Earle of Flaunders*, whereon the King of *France* had seized; and therein, neyther is satisfied. Then are there two pretenders to the Crowne of *Ierusalem*, *Guy of Lusignan*, and *Conrade*, Marquis of *Monferrato*: *Guy* pleads the possession thereof, which hee had by his wife *Sibilla*: the King of *England* takes part with *Guy*: the King of *France*, with *Conrade*; and with these differences are they kept in imbroylements, and continually distempered, in so much, as by their owne heates and the contagion of the Country, they fell into a most dangerous sicknesse, that cost them both their haire, being more then they got by the voyage.

But being recouered, the King of *France* had no longer will to stay there, where hee saw no more likely-hood of honor or profit; and at home, hee knew was better good to be done with lesse danger, and the rather by the death of the Earle of *Flaunders*, whose state lay so neere, as it tooke vp part of his; whereof hee had a purpose to abridge his successor; and therefore, craues leauue of the King of *England* (*for without leauue of each other it was couenanted, neither of them should depart*) to returne home: which King *Richard* was hardly won to grant, in respect he knew the danger, it might worke him, in his absence, to let such an offended Lyon loose.

The King of *France* departs from the Holy Warre.—But in the end through the earnest sollicitation of the King of *France*, and the assurance (confirmed by Oath) not to doe any thing offensiuе to his Dominions in *France*, during his absence, he yeelds thereunto. And so departs this great Prince, leauing the Earle of *Borgogne* Lieutenant of his forces: And King *Richard* betakes him to the siege of *Ascalon*: writes ineuctiuе

letters against the King of *France* for leauing him : Who likewise defames King *Richard* amongst his neighbours at home. And it may be doubted whether the periury of these two Kings did not adde more to their sinne, then the action they vndertooke for the remission thereof could take away, for that *A good worke impiously managed, merits no more then an ill.*

Ten moneths the King of *England* stayes behind in these parts, consuming both his men and treasure without any great successe, though with much noble valour and exceeding courage ; finding euer great peruersnesse in the Earle of *Borgogne*, who according to his maisters instructions shewed no great desire to aduance the action, where another must carry the honour ; but willing alwayes to returne home (pretending his want) drew backe when any businesse of importance was to be done ; and at length falls sicke, and dyes at *Acon*.

Conrade murthered.—*Conrade*, who was so much faououred by the King of *France*, in his title for that Kingdome, was murthered by two *Assassini*, whereof the King of *England* was (but very wrongfully) taxed ; and the Earle of *Champagne*, marrying his Widdow, sister to Queene *Sibilla*, was by King *Richard* preferred to the Crowne of *Ierusalem*, and *Guy of Lusignan* (the other pretender) made King of *Cyprus*, and so both contented.

Longshamps trayne and pompe.—During this businesse abroad in the East, the state of *England* suffred much at home vnder the gouernment of *Longshamp*, who vsurping the whole authority to himselfe without communicating any thing eyther with the Nobility, or the rest of the Commissioners ioyned with him, did what hee listed, and with that insolency carried himselfe, as hee incurred the hatred of the whole Kingdome, both Clergy and Lay. His traine was sayd to be so great, and the pompe of attendants such, as where hee lay in any religious house but one night, three yeares reuenues would scarce suffice to recover the charge. Besides, beeing a stranger himselfe and vsing only French men about him, made his

courses the more intollerable to the English ; in so much, as at length the whole Clergy, and Nobility oppose against his proceedings, and the Earle *John* taking aduantage vpon these discontentments (to make himselfe more popular, and prepare the way to his intended vsurpation) ioynes with the state against this Bishop, being the man that had euer crossed his courses, hauing an especiall eye vnto him, as the most dangerous person of the Kingdome, both in respect of the Kings charge, and his owne safety.

1191. Anno Reg. 3. *Geffery* the Elect of *Yorke* taken and imprisoned by the Chancellor.—And now there fell out a fit occasion to ruine the Chancellor by his meanes. *Geffery* the Elect Arch-bishop of *Yorke*, base sonne to *Henry* the second, to whose preferment in *England*, King *Richard* was auerse (and therfore had confin'd him within *Normandy*, during his absence) had by great labour to Pope *Celestine*, obtained a power to be inuested / in that Sea : whose comming into *England* being aduertised to the Chancellor *Longshamp*, hee was at his landing at *Douer* apprehended, and drawne by force out of the Church which hee had recouered, and from the Altar in his Pontificall Habit trayled into the Castle in most vile manner. Of which violence the Earle *John*, and the Bishop taking notice, they command the Chancellor not only to release him, but also to answere the matter, before the assembly of the Bishops, and Nobility at *Pauls* : where, they Article, and vrge against him many haynous actions committed, contrary to the Commission giuen him, and the Weale of the King and Kingdome.

Longshamp the Chancellor deposed from his Office. He flyes and is taken.—The Arch-bishop of *Roan*, and *William Marshal* Earle of *Striguile*, shewed openly the Kings Letters Patents, dated at *Messena* in *Sicile*, whereby they were made Commissioners with him in the gouernment of the Kingdome ; which notwithstanding, hee would neuer suffer them to deale in any businesse of the same ; but by his owne violent, and

head-long will, doe all himselfe ; wherefore in the end hee was by the Assembly deposed from his Office ; and the Arch-bishop of *Rouen* (who would doe nothing without the Councell of the State) instituted therein. The Tower of *London*, and the Castle of *Windsor* are taken from him, and deliuered to the Arch-bishop. And so this great Officer presuming too much in his place (hauing enuy so neere him, and a maister so farre off) was throwne downe from his State, faine to resigne his Legantine Crosse at *Canterbury*, and to take vp that for the Holy Warre : and priuily seekeing to escape ouer Sea, was, in the habite of a woman, with a webbe of Linnin cloth vnder his arme, taken vpon the shore at *Douer*, and most opprobriously made a spectacle to the people, and Conducted with all derision to the Castle ; whence after eight dayes hee was by the Earle *John* released, and suffered to goe on his iourney ; wherein, beeing the messenger of his owne mis-vsage, hee had the aduantage of his aduersaries, and preuailed against them with the Pope, who tooke it very tenderly, the power Legantine should be so vilified.

The Earle *John*, the Arch-bishop of *Rouen*, and the other Iustices of the King, grant vnto the City of *London* their Common (or liberties,) and the Citizens swore fealty to King Richard and his heire ; and that if hee dyed without issue, they would receiue the Earle Iohn for their Lord and King, and likewise swore fealty vnto him against all men, reseruing their faith to King Richard.

King Richards departure from *Palestina*.—In this forwardnesse was the Earle *John* for his brothers Crowne, whilst hee is beleagaring *Ascalon*, and grapling with *Saladin Sultan* in the East. But hauing notice of this proceeding in *England*, and how the King of *France* had taken in *Gisors*, and the Country of *Vexin*, contrary to his Oath ; hee takes the oportunity of an offer made by *Saladine* of a Truce for three yeares, vpon condition That he should restore *Ascalon* to the same State wherein hee found it before the siege : which hee did

by the Counsell of the Templars, and the whole Army. And presently leauing Wife, Sister, and people to come after him (as they could prouide) takes a shippe with some few followers, and returnes from his action, with as great precipitation as hee vndertooke it: hauing consumed therein all that mighty Treasure left him by his Father, and all that otherwise hee could teare from his subiects, and diuers others, by violent extortions, or cunning practises.

His discouerie. King *Richard* taken prisoner.—*Pardon vs Antiquity, if we mis-censure your actions, which are euer (as those of men) according to the vogue, and sway of times, and haue onely their vpholding by the opinion of the present: We deale with you but as posterity will with vs (which euer thinkes it selfe the wiser) that will iudge likewise of our errors according to the cast of their imaginations.* But for a King of *England* to returne in this fashion, cannot bee but a note of much inconsideration, and had as pitifull an euent. For hauing taken vp by the way three Gallies to Conduct him to *Ragusa* for three hundred Markes of Siluer, (disguised vnder the names of Pilgrimes,) hee was by his lauish expences, discouered to bee the King of *England*; which note once taken, it was impossible for him to lay any couering thereon, that could ever hide him more: though vppon warning thereof, hee presently left all his Company, and with one man onely takes horse, and through all the dangers of a wild Desert, and rockey Countrey, trauayling day and night, passes into / *Austrich*, where Fame, that was a speedier Post then himselfe, was before him. And comming to a Village neere to *Vienna*, and reposing himselfe in a poore hostelry, was taken asleepe, by meanes of his companion going forth to prouide necessaries for him, who as hee was changing money was knowne, taken, and brought before the Duke of *Austrich*, and vpon examination confessed where his maister was; of which prize the Duke was most ioyfull, in respect of his reuenge for the disgrace hee did him at the entring of *Acon*, and presently sends him to the

Emperour *Henry* the sixth, whom likewise hee had offended for ayding *Tancredi* the base sonne of *Roger*, in the vsurpation of the Crowne of *Sicilia*, against *Constantia* the lawfull daughter of the same *Roger* whom this Emperour had married.

King *Richard* deposed himselfe of the Kingdome of *England*.—Newes heereof is presently sent by the Emperour to the King of *France* that he might likewise reioyce at this Fortune, and hee tells him, *That now the Enemy of his Empire, and the disturber of the Kingdome of France, was fast in hold, and all the manner how.* The State of *England* is likewise soone certified of this heauy disaster, and great meanes is made to redeeme their King out of Captiuity, who is sayd to haue borne his Fortune with that magnanimity, and cleared himselfe of the scandals layd on him for the death of *Conrade* the Emperours kinsman, and other his actions in the East, in such sort, as hee won the affection of the Emperor, so that hee professed a great desire to restore him, and reconcile him to the King of *France*. But yet we find, *That King Richard deposed himselfe of the Kingdome of England, and deliuered the same to the Emperor as his supreame Lord, and inuested him therein by the deliuering vp his hat*, which the Emperor returned vnto him in the presence of the Nobility of *Germany* and *England*, to hold this Kingdom from him for fifty thousand pounds sterlinc to bee payde as an annuall tribute.

Earle *John* doth homage to the King of *France* for *Normandy*.—And yet notwithstanding all this, the King of *France*, combining with the Earle *John*, preuayled so much with the Emperour, as hee held him Prisoner a whole yeare, and sixe weekes, through the offer of mighty summes they made vnto him. For he, and the Earle *John* fully accounted that hee should haue beene held a perpetuall prisoner, and vpon that reckoning the Earle *John* did homage to the King of *France* for the Dutchy of *Normandy*, and all the rest of those transmarine Territories, and for *England* as it is sayd; and besides resignes vnto him *Gisors*, with the Country of *Vexin*, sweares

to marry his sister *Alice*, and to bee diuorced from his other Wife, the Daughter of the Earle of *Glocester*. The king of *France* couenants to giue him with his sister, that part of *Flanders* which he had taken from that Earledome, and sweares to ayde him in the attayning both of *England* and whatsoeuer else the Lands of his brother.

Then goes the Earle *John* ouer into *England*, carrying many strangers with him, and presently, the Castles of *Wallingford* and *Windsor*, are rendered vnto him: then comes hee to *London* and requires of the Arch-bishop of *Rouen*, and other the Commissioners, the kingdome of *England*, and that fealty bee made vnto him, affirming his brother was dead; but they not giuing credit vnto him, and denying his desire; with rage and strong hand, hee fortifies his Castles, and in hostile manner inuades the Lands of his brother, finding many partakers to ioyne with him.

The Queene mother, the Iustices of *England*, and all the faithfull seruants of the King, guard and defend the ports, against the inuasion of the French and *Flemings*, who in great numbers seekes to ayde the Earle *John*; and also they labour the redemption of the King, whose ransome the Emperour rates at one hundred thousand Markes, with the finding of fifty Gallies ready furnished, and two hundred souldiers to attend his seruice in the Holy Warres for one yeare.

The Emperors composition with *Richard*.—In *Normandy* the Officers and Seruants of the king of *England*, defend with no lesse Faith and Courage, the right of their Maister against the king of *France*, who with all his power, labours to subdue them, and by his large offers to the Emperour prolongs his redemption, and inhaunces his ransome. This toyle and charge is the World put into, through the misfortune and weakenesse of their hardy king, who, onely in respect of his Valour, (beeing otherwise not worth so much,) and the Holy Worke hee vndertooke, (whereby hee obliged the Clergy, which then managed all,) got the opinion and loue of his

subiects, in such sort, as they strayne euen / beyond their ability to recouer and preserue him, and so wrought in the end that the Emperour compounds with King Richard in this manner: *That hee should send his Commissioners to London, and receive an hundred thousand Markes of pure siluer of Cologne weight, to be sealed vp and safely conducted to the bounds of the Empire, at the perill of the King of England; and other fifty thousand Markes of siluer (whereof twenty thousand for the Duke of Austrich, and thirty thousand for the Emperour, to be payd at seuen moneths after, and pledges to be giuen: threescore to the Emperour, and seuen to the Duke.* Besides, the King of *England* sweares to send his Neece, the sister of Arthur Earle of Brittainē, to be married to the Duke of Austrich, &c.

King Richards letters into *England*.—And the Emperour granted to the King of *England* by his Charter the soueraignty of Prouince, Vienne, and Viennois, Marsellis, Narbona, Arls, Lyons, and whatsoeuer hee had in Burgogne, with the hoingages of the King of Arragon, the Earles of Dijon, and Saint Giles. In which Countries were ffeue Arch-bishopricks, thirty-three Bishopricks; but the Emperour could neuer haue domination ouer them, nor they receive any Lord that he presented them. So that this great gift consisted but in Title, which yet pleased King *Richard*, that hee might not seeme to part with all his substance for nothing. And the same wind hee sends to *Hubert* the new Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, late made his Vice-gerent in *England*, to be blowne ouer all the Kingdome, by a letter wrote vnto him: wherin he hath these words: *For that sure I am, you much desire our deliuernace and greatly reioyce therin, we wil that you be partaker of our ioy, and thought fit to signifie to your belouednesse, that the Lord the Emperor hath prefixed the day thereof, to be vpon Munday after the feast of the Natiuity, and the Sunday after we shall receive the Crowne of the Kingdome of Prouince, which he hath giuen vs, whereof we send his Letters-Patents unto you, and other our friends and*

well-willers ; and do you in the meane time, as much as in you lyeth, comfort those you know loue vs, / and desire our promotion.
Teste me ipso apud Spiram 22. Sept.

1192. Anno Reg. 4.—*The Emperor likewise writes to the Bishops, Earles, Barons, and other the subiects of England, how hee purposed to aduance and magnificently to honor his especiall friend their King ; and in this Coyne are they payd at home for what they were to lay out.*

King *Richard* sends after this, for his Mother Queene *Elioner* (who is still a Trauailer) and for the Arch-bishop of *Rouen*, with many others to come vnto him, about the time and businesse of his deliuernace, for which, there is imposed vpon euery Knights Fee twenty shillings, the fourth part of all Laymens reuenues, and the fourth part of all the reuenues of the Clergy, with a tenth of their goods is enioyned to be payd. *The Chalices and Treasure of all Churches are taken to make vp the summe,* the like is done in all his Territories beyond the Seas, so dearely cost the returne of this King from his *Easterne Voyage*. And his Queene *Berenguela* had likewise her part of affliction in this iourney, for she with her sister in Law the Queene Dowager of *Sicilia*, fearing the Emperours malice, were a whole yeare in trauailing from *Palestina*, and at length were Conducted vnto *Poictou*.

The King of *France* and Earle *John* proffers great summes to hold king *Richard* prisoner. King *Richards* returne into *England*.—The King of *France* hearing of this conclusion made betwixt King *Richard* and the Emperor, writes to the Earle *Iohn* how the diuell was got loose, willing him now to look to himself ; and it vexed them exceedingly both, being disappointed thus of their hopes : and therupon, the Earle *Iohn* leauing his Castles in *England* well defended, and encouraging his Souldiers to hold out, and credit no reports, departs into *Normandy*, where hee with the King of *France*, whilst King *Richard* is yet in the Emperours hands, solicites him, with the proffer of a hundred and fifty thousand Markes, or else a thousand pound a moneth,

so long as he held him his prisoner. But it preuailed not, though it staggered the Emperour for a time, who in the end shewed this letter to King *Richard* (that hee might see what care was taken for him) and then deliuers him to his mother *Elioner*, receiuing the pledges for obseruation of peace, (and the rest of the ransome vnpaid) *the Arch-bishop of Rouen, the Bishop of Bath, with the sons of many principall Earles and Barons.* And so in *February*, one yeare and sixe weekes after his Captiuity, in the fourth yeare of his reigne hee returnes into *England*, where the Bishops (in whose grace especially he was) had excommunicated the Earle *John*, and all his adherents, and taken in his Castles of *Marleborow, Lancaster*, and a Fortresse at St. *Michels* mount in *Cornewall*, defended by *Henry de Pumeroy*. But his Castle of *Nottingham*, though strongly assailed by *Ralph Earle of Chester* and / the Earle *Ferrers*, and the Castle of *Tichill* by the Bishop of *Duresme*, held out for the Earle *John*, and found the King some worke to doe vpon his returne ; who presently without any stay other where, came before *Nottingham* Castle with all the shew of state and greatnesse hee could make ; which yet could not so terrifie the defendants, as to make them yeeld, confident eyther in their owne strength, or in opinion that there was no King euer to returne to assault them, and supposing it but a meere shew, resolued to hold out for their maister ; which put the King to much trauayle, and great expence of blood before they rendred themselves, which was also vpon pardon. Those of the Castle of *Tichil* yeelded to the Bishop of *Duresme*, *their persons and goods saued.*

1193. *Anno Reg. 5.* A Parliament at *Nottingham*.—The King assembles a Parliament at *Nottingham*, where Queene *Elioner* was present, and sate on his right hand. The first day of the Session *he desseiseth Girard de Canuile of the Castle of Lincolne, and the Shriefwick of that shire; from Hugh Bardolph he takes the Shriefwicke of Yorkshire, the Castles of Yorke, Scarborow, and the custody of Westmerland, and*

exposes them all to sale. The Arch-bishop of Yorke gives for the Shriefwicke of Yorkeshire, three thousand Markes, with one hundred Markes of annuall rent.

The second day of the Session the King requires iudgment vpon the Earle Iohn, for hauing contrary to his Oath of fealty, vsurped his Castles, &c. and contracted confederacy with the King of France against him. And likewise iudgment against Hugh de Nauant Bishop of Couentry, for adhering to the Earle Iohn, and the kings enemies. And it was adiudged, they should both appeare at a peremptory day to stand to the Law. Which if they did not, the Earle Iohn to be banished, and the Bishop to undergoe the iudgement, both of the Clergy, as being a Bishop, and of Layety, being the Kings Shriefe; But this Bishop two yeares after, was restored to the Kings fauour, and his Bishopricke, for fие thousand Markes. The third day of this Session was granted to the King, Of every plough-land throughout England, two shillings: besides, the King required the third part of the seruice, of every Knights fee, for his attendance in Normandy; and all the Wooll that yeare of the Monkes Cisteaux. Which for that it was grieuous and insupportable vnto them, they fine for money.

Richard againe Crowned at Winchester.—The fourth and last day, was for the hearing of grieuances and accusations, and so this assembly brake vp. But here eyther to adde more Maiesty after calamity, or else to nullifie his act done to the Emperour, is appoynted the Kings recoronation to be solemnized at Winchester, presently upon the Feast of Easter next following. Whilst the King was in these parts, William King of Scots, repaires to him, and required the dignities and honor his predecessors of right had in England, and withal, the Counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmerland, and Lancaster. To whom the King of England first answered, that he would satisfie him by the aduice of his Councell, which shortly after was assembled at Northampton; where after deliberation, he told him that his petition ought not in reason, to be granted

at that time, when almost all the Princes of France were his enemies, for it would be thought rather an act of feare, then any true affection, and so put it off for that time with faire promises; yet grants he by the aduice and consent of the Councell, vnder his Charter, to *William King of Scots* and his heires for euér: That when by sommons they shold come to the Court of the King of England, the Bishop of Duresme, and the Shrieafe of Northumberland should receiue them at the riuere of Tweed, and bring them under safe-conduct to the riuere of Teis, and there the Arch-bishop of Yorke, and the Shrieafe of Yorkeshire should receiue and conduct them to the bounds of that County; and so the Bishops and Shriefes of other shires till they came to the Court of the King of England; and from the time that the King of Scots first entred into this Realme, he should haue an hundred shillings a day allowed of gift for his charge, and after he came to the Court, thirty shillings a day, and twelue Wastels, and twelue Sinnels of the Kings, foure quarts of the Kings best wine, and six of ordinary wine, two pounds of pepper, and foure pounds of Cinamon; two pounds of Wax, or foure Wax lights, forty great long perchers of the Kings best candles, and twenty foure of other ordinary: and at his returne to be safely conducted as he came, and with the same allowance.

Resumptions. From *Northampton*, both the Kings go to *Woodstocke*, and thence to *Winchester*, where the Coronation is sumptuously solemnized. And there King *Richard* resumes the two Mannors he sold to the Bishop of *Winchester*, at his going to the Holy Warre, and likewise the Castle of *Winchester* and that County, with whatsoeuer sales he had made else of / the *Demaines* of the *Crown*e, alledging that it was not in his power to aliene any thing appertayning to the same whereby his State was to subsist. The Bishop of *Duresme* seeing these reuocations, did voluntarily, deliuer vp the Castle of *Duresme*, with the country of *Northumberland*, which the King willed to be deliuered to *Hugh Bardolph*. *Hugh Bishop of Lincolne* gaue for the liberty of his Church one thousand Markes of

siluer, redeeming thereby the custome of giuing to the King of *England* euery yeaire a cloake furred with *Sabells*.

Heere all such who had taken part with the Earle *John*, and defended his Castles, were sommoned to appeare, and all the rich were put to their ransome, the poorer sort let goe at liberty, but vnder sureties of a hundred Markes a peece, to answere in the Kings Court whensoeuer they should be called. The King of *Scots*, seeing the King of *England* vse all meanes for money, offers fifteene thousand Markes for *Northumberland*, with the appurtenances, alledging *how King Henry the second gaue the same to Henry his Father, and that after him, King Malcolm enjoyed it five yeares.* This large offer of money tempted King *Richard* so, as againe hee consulted with his Councell about the matter, and in conclusion was willing to yeeld the same to the King of *Scots*, reseruing to himselfe the Castles ; but that, the King of *Scots* would not accept, and so with much discontent departs into *Scotland* : yet two yeares after this, King *Richard* sends *Hubert Walter* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* to *Yorke*, there to treate with the King of *Scots* of a marriage betweene *Otho* his Nephew, and *Margaret* daughter to the sayd King to haue for her Dowery *all Lynox, and he would give with his Nephew, Northumberland, and the Earledome of Carlile, with all the Castles* ; but the Queene of *Scots* in the time of this treaty, beeing knowne to bee with Childe, it tooke no effect.

King *Richard* departs into *Normandy* with 100. ships.— From *Winchester*, King *Richard* departs into *Normandy* with an hundred ships, so that his stay in *England* was but from the latter ende of February to the tenth of May, and that time onely spent in gleaning out what possible this kingdome could yeeld, to consume the same in his businesse of *France*, which tooke vp all the rest of his Reigne, being in the whole but nine yeares, and nine moneths, whereof hee was neuer aboue eight moneths in *England*. Nor doe wee finde that euer his wife *Berenguela* was heere, or had any Dowerie or honour of a

Queene of *England*, or otherwise of any regard with him, how much soeuer shee had deserued.

And now all affaires that either concerned the State in generall, or any mans particular, was (to the great charge and trauayle of the subiects of *England*) to be dispatched in *Normandie*; and that gaine wee had by our large Dominions abroad. The first action that King *Richard* vndertooke vpon his comming ouer, was, the relieuing of *Vernoult* besieged by the King of *France*; and there his brother *John*, by the mediation of their mother Queene *Elioner* is reconciled vnto him, and abiures the part of the king of *France*. And to make his party the stronger in those Countryes, he first giues his sister *Ioan*, Queene Dowager of *Sicile*, to *Raymond* Earle of *Tholouse*, being the neerest neighbour of power to his Dutchy of *Guien*, and might most offend him. Then enters league with *Baldwin* Earle of *Flanders* from whom the king of *France* had taken *Artois*, and *Vermandois*, and on all sides seekes to imbroyle his enemy. Foure yeares at least, held this miserable turmoyle betwixt these two kings, surprising, recouering, ruining and spoyling each others Estate, often deceiuing both the world, and themselues with shewe of couenants reconciliatory, which were euermore broken againe vppon all aduantages according to the Mystery of Warre and ambition.

King *Phillip* of *France* to strengthen himselfe with shipping to oppose the English, marries *Botilda* the sister of *Knut* king of *Denmarke*; but this match, made for his endes, and not affection, turned to his more trouble, for the next day after his wedding hee put her away, pretending (besides other things) propinquity of blood, and for this had hee long and great contention with the Church and the king of *Denmarke*. The Emperour sends to the king of *England* a massie Crowne of gold, and offers to come and ayde him against the king of *France*, and to inuade his kingdome; but the king returnes him onely thankes, not willing to haue him stirre in this businesse, in regard hee suspected the Emperour affected to

adde *France* to the Empire, which would not be safe for him : or that / the King of *France* dealing with the Emperour might win him with money, and so in the end, ioyne both together against him.

1194. Anno Reg. 6.—Meanes vsed for money.—Now to supply the charge of this great worke, *England* was sure still to beare the heauiest part ; and no shift is left vnsought, that might any way raise meanes to the King from hence. Witnesse the Commission giuen to the Iustices itinerants sent into euery shiere of England, for exaction vpon pleas of the Crowne, for *Escheates, Wardships, Marriages, &c.* with the improuement of the Demaines, and the order taken for the exact knowing of the estates of men, and especially of the Iewes, on whom the King would haue none to prey but himselfe : Then the raising an imposition vppon allowance of Turnements, which was for euery Earle twenty Markes of siluer : euery Baron, ten, euery Knight hauing lands, foure ; and for such as had none, two Markes for a Licence. The Collection whereof the Arch-bishop of Canterbury commits to his brother *Theobald Walter*. Besides another new seale, the old being lost by the Vice-Chancelor at the taking of Cyprus, brings in a new exaction.

But the proceeding in the pleas of the Crowne and extorting of penalties, Anno Reg. 9. by *Hugh Bardolph, Roger Arundel and Geffery Hatchet* Iustices Itinerants for *Lincolneshire, Nottinghamshire, Darbyshire, Yorkeshire, Northumberland, Cumberland and Lancaster*, was of a higher strayne of exaction, and more profound, as hauing more of time, and presumption vpon the peoples sufferance ; of whom, when once triall was made that they would beare, were sure to haue more layd on them then they were able to vndergoe. And with these vexations (sayth *Houteden*) all *England* from Sea to Sea was reduced to extreame pouerty, and yet it ended not heere : another torment is added to the confusion of the Subjects by the Iustices of the Forrests, *Hugh Neuile, Chief Justice, Hugh Wac, and Ernise de Neuile*, who not only execute those hideous

Lawes introduced by the Norman, but impose others of more tyrannicall seuerity, as the memory thereof being odious, deserues to be vtterly forgotten, hauing afterwards by the hard labour of our noble ancestors, and the goodnesse of more regular Princes, beene asswaged and now out of vse.

Besides in the same yeare, this King *imposes* 5. shil. *vpon euery hide or plough-land*, (*which contayned an hundred Acres:*) for the leauying whereof a most strict course was taken: Likewise he required by the Vicegerent the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, that *the people of England should find 300. Knights for one yeare to remaine in his seruice, or so much money, allowing for euery Knight three shil. per diem*. Against which, *Hugh Bishop of Lincolne* opposes and sayes, that *he would never yeeld to the Kings will in this, for the detriment it might be to the Church, and example to posterity, that should not complaine thereof, and say: Our Fathers haue eaten sower grapes, and the childrens teeth are set on edge;* and turning to the Arch-bishop, wished him, that *he would do nothing whereof he might be ashamed*.

This Arch-bishop so husbanded the Kings businesse, that in *Anno Reg. 7.* he yeelded an accompt vnto him, that hee had leauied of the Kingdome within the space of two yeares, eleuen hundred thousand Markes of siluer (*Vndecies centena millia Mory: Houed.*); which, considering that time, is a most remardeable summe. And now, as the first act of this King was his violent proceeding in a businesse of Treasure with *Stephen Thrustan Seneshall of Normandy*, so was it likewise the last, and the cause of his destruction: for *Widomare, Viscount of Limoges*, hauing found a great Treasure of siluer and gold in the ground, sends a good part thereof to the King, which he refuses, laying clayme to the whole; *Widomare* denying the same, the King layes siege to his Castle, where he imagined the Treasure was hid; they of the Castle being but weake, offered to render the same, their liues, members, and armour sauad; which the King would not yeeld vnto, but swore that

hee would sack the Castle, and hang them all. Whereupon desperately they resolued to stand to their defence. King *Richard* with *Marchard*, Generall of the *Brabansons* going about the Castle to view what place was fittest for an assault ; *Bertram de Gurdun*, from the walls shot a barbed arrow that hit the King in the arme, with such a deadly blow as hee was presently sent to his lodging : notwithstanding commaunds hee his forces to prosecute the assault, without intermission ; which they did, and tooke the Castle, putting to execution all the Defendants except *Bertram*, who by the Kings commaund was reserued. /

But the arrow drawne out with great torture, left the head behinde, which being by a rude Chirurgion, after much mangling the flesh hardly cut out, brought the King to despaires of life, and to dispose of his Estate, leauing to his brother *John* three parts of his Treasure, and the fourth to his seruants.

The Death of King *Richard*. — Which done, he willed *Bertram Gurdun* to be brought vnto him, of whom he demanded, what hurt he had done him, that prouoked him to doe this mischiefe : to whom *Bertram* replies : *Thou hast killed my father and my two brothers with thine owne hand, and now wouldest haue slaine mee, take what reuenge thou wilt. I willingly endure whatsoeuer torture thou canst inflict vpon me : in respect I haue slaine thee, who hast done such and so great mischiefe to the World.* The King notwithstanding this rough and desperate answere, caused him to be let loose, and not onely forgaue him his death, but commanded 100. shillings sterlinc to be giuen vnto him ; but *Marchard* after the King was dead, caused him to be hanged and slayed.

1199. Anno Reg. 10.—This was the end of this Lyon-like King, when he had reigned nine yeares, and nine moneths ; wherein hee exacted, and consumed more of this Kingdome, then all his predecessors from the Norman had done before him, and yet lesse deserued then any, hauing neyther liued here, neither left behind him Monument of Piety, or of any

other publique worke, or euer shewed loue or care to this Common-wealth, but onely to get what hee could from it. Neuer had Prince more giuen with lesse adoe, and lesse noyse then hee. The reason whereof, as I haue sayd, was his vndertaking the Holy wars, and the cause of Christ, with his suffering therein ; and that made the Clergy, which then might doe all, to deny him nothing ; and the people, fed with the report of his miraculous valour, horrible incounters in his voyage abroad, (and then some victory in *France*) were brought to beare more then euer otherwise they would haue done.

Then had he such Ministers here to serue his turne as preferred his, before the service of God, and did more for him in his absence, then euer peraduenture hee would, or could haue done for himselfe by being here present. For, both, to hold their places and his good opinion, they deuise more shifts of rapine, then had euer beene practised before in this Kingdome, and cared not so he were satisfied, what burthen they layd on the Subiect ; which rent and torné by continual exactions was made the more miserable, in that they came betrayed with the shew of *Religion* and *Law*, the maine supporters of humane society ; ordayned to preserue the state of a people, and not to confound it. But the insolent ouercharging the State in these times, gaue occasion to the future, to prouide for themselues ; excesses euer procure alteration. And the Successors of this King were but little beholding vnto him ; for out of his and his brothers irregularity, their boundlessnes came to be brought within some limits. Yet what this King would have proued, had his dayes allowed him other then this rough part of War, we know not ; but by the operation of a poore Hermits speech made vnto him, we are shewed that he was conuertible. For being by him vehemently vrged to be mindfull of the subuersion of *Sodome*, and to abstayne from things vnlawfull, thereby, to auoyd the vengeance of God, he vpon an insuing sicknes (a sounder Counsailor then health) remembred this aduertisement, vowes a reformation of his life ;

and did afterward vpon his recoverie, euery morning rise early to heare Diuine seruice. For which *Houeden* hath his note : *How glorious it is for a Prince to begin and end his actions in Him, who is beginning without beginning, and iudges the ends of the Earth.* Besides, he growes hospitable to the poore, and made restitution of much Church vessell, that had beene taken and sold for ransome.

His issue.—*Though this King had no issue, yet was he told by a Priest in France, that he had three euill daughters, and admonished to put them away, and bestow them abroad to auoid the punishment of God.* The King gaue him the lie and sayd, he knew none he had. Yes Sir, replied the Priest, three daughters you haue, and they are these, Pride, Couetousnesse, and Letchery. *The King calling those who were present about him, and relating what the Priest had said, willed them to be witnesses how he would bestow these his three daughters, which the Priest charged him withall.* The 1. which is Pride, I giue to the Templars and Hospitallers ; Couetousnesse to the Monkes of Cisteaux Order, and Letchery to the Clergy : *This sudaine retortion shewes vs his quicknes, and what kind of men were then maligned, and out of his grace.*

The end of the Life, and Reigne, of Richard the first.]

The Life, and Reigne, of King Iohn.

1199. Anno Reg. 1.

 JOHN hauing his brothers Army in the field, with all his Seruants and Followers, entertaynes them generally with promises of large rewards, and thereby had the aduantages of time, power, and opinion, to helpe him on to his desires. Hubert Arch-bishop of Canterbury being vpon busines in those parts, and the most potent Minister hee could wish, for so mighty a worke, he

presently dispatches for *England*, with *William Marshall* Earle of *Striguill*, *Geffery Fitz Peter*, &c., to prepare the people to receiue him for their King: who, especially dealing with those were most doubted would oppose him, and vndertaking for him that he should restore vnto them their rights, and gouerne the Kingdome, as hee ought, with moderation; wrought so as they were all content vpon those conditions, to sweare Fealty vnto him against all men. These vndertakers, likewise, send word to *William King of Scots* (to hold him in, from any attempt) that hee should also have full satisfaction for what hee claymed in *England*, vpon the returne of their new Maister. And so were all things made cleare on this side. But on the other, the right of succession, which was in *Arthur* the elder brothers Sonne, stirred affections of another nature, the nobility of *Aniou*, *Maine*, and *Turein*, maintayning the vsuall custome of inheritance, adhere to *Arthur*, whom his mother *Constance* puts vnder the Protection of the King of *France*, who receiues him and vndertakes the defence of his right.

King *Johns Coronation*.—*John* hauing his chiefe ayme at the Crowne of *England*, could haue no time of stay to close those ruptures that so violently brake out there, but hauing receiued the inuestiture of the Dutchy of *Normandy*, and performed all those rites, he speedily, with his mother *Elioner* (who must haue her part in euery act of her Sonnes) passes ouer into *England*, and by way of Election receiues the Crowne vpon the *Ascention* day, at the hands of *Hubert Arch-bishop of Canterbury*, who in his Oration, (as it is recorded in *Mat. Pa.*) before the whole assembly of the State shewed, *That by all reason, diuine and humaine, none ought to succeed in the Kingdome, but who should be for the worthinesse of his vertues, vniuersally chosen by the state, as was this man, &c.* which then, seemes especially vrged in respect his title of succession would not carry it. And the Arch-bishop afterward, vpon this poynct, being questioned, confessed to his friends, *That hee*

foresaw this man would, (what blood and mischiefe soeuer it should cost) in the end obtayne the Crowne. And therefore the safer way was, to preuent confusion, that the Land should rather make him King, then he make himselfe, and that this election would be some tye vpon him.

So came *John* to the Crowne of *England* which he gouerned with as great iniustice as he gat it, and imbarke the state and himselfe, in those miserable incombrances, thorow his violences and oppression, as produced desperate effects, and made way to those great alterations in the gouernment which followed. The Queene-Mother, a woman of an high and working spirit, was an especiall agent in this preferment of her sonne *John*, in respect of her owne greatnessse, knowing how shee should bee more by him, then she could bee by her grand-childe *Arthur*, who had a mother would looke to become Regent here, and so ouer-shadow her estate, which was a thing not to be endured. Besides, *Arthur* was a childe, borne and bred a stranger, and neuer shewed vnto the Kingdome, so that hee had nothing but his right to draw a party, which could not bee such (in regard of the danger of the aduenture, things standing as they did) that could doe him any great good. Men beeing content rather to embrace the present, though wrong, with safety, then seeke to establish anothers right, with the hazard of their owne confusion.

England secured to King *John*. 1200. Anno Reg. 2. Prince *Arthur* and his mother flie to *Angiers*.—The State of *England* secured : King *John* returnes into *Normandy* vpon notice giuen of the defection wrought in those parts by *Phillip* the French King, who had giuen the order of Knight-hood to *Arthur*, and taken his homage for *Aniou*, *Poictou*, *Main*, *Turein* and also for *Normandy* (in regard as hee pretended) that King *John* had neglected to come, and do him homage for the same, as members held of the Crowne of *France*. King *John*, not willing vpon his new and doubtfull admission to the gouernment to ingulph himselfe into a suddaine Warre,

mediates a parle with the King of *France*, who well vnderstanding the time, and his owne aduantages, requires so vnreasonable conditions, as King *John* could not, without great dishonour, yeeld vnto, and so they fall to the sword. The King of *France* vnder pretence of working for *Arthur* gets for himselfe ; which being discouered, *Arthur* with his mother *Constance*, are brought (by the perswasion of their chiefe Minister *William de la Roche*) to commit themselues to the protection of King *John* ; of whom likewise conceiuing a sudaine iealousy, (or else informed of his purpose to imprison them) the next night after their comming got secretly away and fled to *Angiers*. So this young Prince, borne to be crusht betweene these two potent Kings (intending onely their owne ends) gaue occasion by leauing them both, to make both his enemies. After many attempts, and little gaine on either side, another treaty is mediated by the Popes Legats, wherein King *John* buyes his peace vpon these yeelding conditions : *That Louys, eldest sonne to King Phillip, should marry his Neece Blanch, daughter of Alphonso king of Castile, and haue with her in Dowre, the City and County of Eureux, with sundry Castles in Normandy, and 3000. Markes in siluer. Besides, promises, if he died without issue, to leaue vnto him al his territories in France. And that he would not ayd his nephew Otho, (lately elected Emperor) against Phillip brother to the late Emperor Henry 6.* whom the King of *France* faoured, in opposition of Pope *Innocent*, who tooke the part of *Otho*.

King *John* puts away his Wife. 1201. Anno Reg. 3. An imposition of three shil. vpon euery Plough land.—After this peace made, *Otho* taking it vnkindly to be thus forsaken of his Vnkle *John*, sends his two brothers, *Henry Duke of Saxony*, and *William Winton* (so titled, for hauing beene borne at *Winchester*) to require the City of *Eureux* and the County of *Poictou*, and two parts of the Treasure which his Vnkle King *Richard* had bequeathed vnto him, besides other moueables ; but they come too late, the obligation of blood, and rendring of dues is held

to bee of an inferiour nature to the present interests of State. To this vnkind and vnnaturall act hee presently addes another : Repudiates his Wife (daughter to the Earle of *Glocester*), alleadging *consanguinity in the third degree*, and marries *Isabell* daughter and inheretrix to the Earle of *Anglosme* fiances before to *Hugh le Brun*, Earle of *March* (a Peere of great estate and alliance in *France*) by consent of King *Richard*, in whose custody she then was. And hauing finished these distastefull businesses, hee returns to giue as little contentment into *England* where he imposes three shillings vpon euery Ploughland, to discharge the great dowry of 30000. Markes he was to giue with his Neece *Blanch*, the collection wherof *Geffery* Archbishop of *Yorke* opposes within his Prouince. For which, and for refusing, vpon summons to come vnto this late Treaty in *France*, the King causes his Shrieve *James Potern*, to seaze vpon all his temporalities. The Archbishop interdicts the whole prouince of *York*, and excommunicates the Shrief. King *John* shortly after, makes a Progresse with his wife Queene *Isabel*, ouer all the North parts vnto *Scotland*, and exacts great fines of offenders in his Forrests. In his passing thorough *Yorkshire*, his brother the Archbishop, refused him wine, and the honor of the bels at *Beuerley*, but by the mediation of foure B B. and foure Barons, and a great sum of mony, a reconciliation is made betweene them, with promise of reformation of excesses on eyther part.

His second Coronation. 1202. Anno Reg. 4.—Vpon Easter day (after his returne from the North) the King againe is crowned at *Canterbury*, and with him *Isabel* his Queene, by the Archbishop *Hubert*. And there are the Earles and Barons of *England*, summoned to be ready with horse and armor to passe the Seas with him presently vpon Whitsontide ; but they holding a conference together at *Leicester*, by a generall consent send him word, *That unlesse he would render them their rights and liberties, they would not attend him out of the kingdome*. The King, saith *Houeden*, vsing ill counsell, required

of them their Castles, and begins with *William de Aubeny*, demanded to haue his Castle of *Beauoyr*; *William* deliuers his sonne in pledge, but kept his Castle. Notwithstanding this refusall of the Lords, hauing taken order for the gouernment, he passes ouer with his Queene into *Normandy*, where his presence, with the great shew of his preparations, caused the reuolters to forbeare their enterprizes for that time; and a farther ratification, with as strong couenants, and cautions as could be deuised, is made of the Agreements with King *Phillip of France*, who Feasts the King of *England* and his Queene at *Paris*, with all complements of amity.

And here both Kings, solicited by the Popes Legat, grant a Subsidy of the fortieth part of all their Subiects reuenues for one yeare (by way of Almes) to succor the Holy Land. For the leauying whereof in *England*, *Geffery Fitz Peter* Chiefe Iusticiar sends out his Writs by way of request and perswasion, *and not as of due or coaction, to auoid example*.

But many moneths passed not, ere a new Conspiracy brake out by the instigation of *Hugh le Brun*, who stung with the rapture of his wife (a wrong of the most sensible touch in nature) combines with *Arthur*, the Barons of *Poictou* and *Brittaine*, and raised a strong side, which the King of *France* (notwithstanding all those tyes wherein hee stood ingaged to the King of *England*) betakes himselfe vnto, in regard of his owne interests and aduantages, from which no bands could with-hold him; and againe both these Kings are in Armes. The King of *France* declares himselfe for *Arthur*, to whom he marries his youngest daughter: requires King *John* to deliuver vp, vnto him all his territories in *France*, and by a peremptory day summons him to appeare personally at *Paris* to answere what should be layd to his charge, and abide the Arrest of his Court; which King *John* refusing, was by sentence adiudged to lose all he held of that Crowne.

He takes his Nephew *Arthur* prisoner.—Then is he assailed on one side by the King of *France* in *Normandy*, on the other

by *Arthur*, and the Barons in *Aniou*, who lay siege to *Mirabel*, defended by *Elioner* the Queene-mother, and were vpon the point of taking it; when King *John*, with greater expedition and force then was expected, came and defeated the whole Army of the assaylants, tooke Prisoner the Earle *Arthur*, *Hugh le Brun* with the Barons of *Poictou*, and about 200. Knights, and men of commaund; all which hee carried away bound in Carts, and dispersed into diuers Castles both of *Normandy* and *England*.

Arthur murthered. 1203. Anno Reg. 5.—This Victory, which might seeme enough to haue established his Estate, vndid him; for by the ill-vsing thereof he lost himselfe, and his reputation for euer. *Arthur* is shortly after murthered in prison, and the deede layd to his charge, which, with the cruell execution of many his Prisoners and Ostages, so exasperates the Nobility of *Brittaine*, *Aniou*, and *Poictou*, as they all take Armes against him, and sommoned he is to answere in the Court of Iustice of the King of *France*, to whom they appeale: which, he refusing, is condemned both to lose the Dutchy of *Normandy* (which his Ancestors had held by the space of 300. yeares) and all his other Prouinces in *France*, whereof the next yeare after, eyther through his negligence, beeing (as they write) giuen ouer to the pleasures of his young wife, or by the reuolt of his owne Ministers (incensed likewise against him) he became wholly dispossessed.

King *John* fines the Barons. 1205. Anno Reg. 7. A Parliament at *Oxford*.—And in this disastrous estate, hee returnes into *England*, and charges the Earles and Barons with the reproach of his losses in *France*, and fines them to pay the seventh part of all their goods for refusing him ayde. Neyther spared hee the Church, or the Commons in this imposition. Of which rapine (*saint Mat. Par.*) were executors, Hubert *Arch-bishop of Canterbury for the Clergy*, and Geffery Fitz Peter *Iusticiar of England for the Layety*. But all this treasure collected, amounted not to answere his wants, or the Furnishing of fresh

supplies for the recovery of his losses (for which he vrges the same to be raysed) and therefore againe in lesse then the space of an yeare, another leauy (but by a fayrer way) is made. A Parliament is conuoked at *Oxford*, wherein is granted two Markes and a halfe of euery Knights Fee for military ayde: neyther departed the Clergy from thence, till they had likewise promised their part. No sooner is this money gathered, but a way is opened, into that all-deuouring Gulphe of *France* to issue it, through a reuolt begunne in *Brittaine*, by *Guido* (now husband to *Constance*, mother of *Arthur*) *Saueri de Malleon*, and *Almeric Lusignian*, Confederats with many others; who receiuing not that satisfaction, expected from their new Maister, call in their olde againe, to shew vs, that mens priuate interests, howsoeuer Honour and Iustice are pretended, onely sway their affections, in such actions as these.

And ouer hastes King *John*, and by the power hee brought, and what he found there, won the strong Castle of *Mon Alban*, and after the City of *Angiers*; and was in a faire way to haue recovered more; but that the King of *France*, by the Fortune of one day (wherin he ouerthrew and took prisoners the chiefe confederats, *Guido*, *Almeric*, and *Saueri*) forced him to take truce for two yeares, and returne into *England* for more supplies. /

1206. Anno Reg. 8. The cause of the breach between the king and his people.—And here another imposition is layd of the thirteene part of all mooueables, and other goods both of the Clergy and Layety: who now seeing their substances thus consumed without successe, and likely euer to be made lyable to the Kings desperate courses, beginne to cast for the recovery of their ancient immunitiess, which vpon their former sufferance had bin vsurped by their late Kings, and to ease themselues of these burthens indirectly layd vpon them. And the first man that opposed the collection of this imposition, was againe the Archbishop of *Yorke*, who solemnly accursed the receiuers thereof within his Prouince, and secretly conueyed

himself out of the kingdom, desirous rather to liue as an exile abroad, then to endure the misery of oppression at home : men accounting themselues lesse iniuriously rifled in a Wood, then in a place where they presume of safety.

1207. Anno Reg. 9.—And hence grew the beginning of a miserable breach, betweene a King and his people, being both out of proportion, and dis-joynted in those iust Ligaments of Commaund and Obedience that should hold them together ; the reducing whereof into due forme and order againe, cost more adoe, and more noble blood, then all the warres Forraigne had done since the Conquest. For this contention ceased not (though it often had some faire intermissions) till the great Charter made to keepe the beame right betwixt soueraignty, and subjection (first obtayned of this King *John*, after, of his sonne *Henry* the third, though obserued truely of neither) was in the maturity of a iudicall Prince, *Edward* the first, freely ratified Anno Reg. 27. which was aboue foure score yeares. And was the first ciuill dissention that euer wee finde, since the establishing of the English Kingdome, betweene the King and his Nobles, of this nature. For the better knowledge whereof, wee are to take a view of the face of those times, the better to iudge of the occasions giuen and taken of these turbulencies.

It was this time, about 130. yeares since *William* the first had heere planted the *Norman* Nobility, whose issue beeing now become meere English, were growne to be of great numbers, of great meanes, and great spirits, euer exercised in the Warres of *France*, where most of them were commanders of Castles, or owners of other Estates, besides what they held in *England*; and beeing by this violent and vnsuccesfull King shut out from action, and their meanes abroad, they practise to preserue what was left, and to make themselues as much as they could at home. Which, by their martiall freedome, and the priuiledges of the Kingdome (necessity now driving them to looke into it) they more boldly presume to attempt, in regard they saw themselues, and the Kingdome brought to

be perpetually harassed at the Kings will, and that violence and corruption hath no faculty to prescribe vpon them : wherein their cause was much better then their prosecution. For whilst they striue to recouer what they had lost, and the King to keepe what hee by aduantage of time and sufferance had gotten, many vnjust and insolent courses are vsed on eyther side, which leauue their stayne to posterity, and make foule the memory of those times. We can excuse no part heerein ; all was ill, and out of order. A diseased head first made a distempered body, which being not to be recouered apart, rendred the sicknesse so long and tedious as it was.

Reginald first chosen Arch-bishop by the Monkes.—Besides, the strange corruption of the season concurred, to adde to this mischiefe ; An ambitious Clergy polluted with auarice, brought Piety in shew to be a presumptive party herein, and takes aduantage upon the weaknesses they found, for which, the *Roman Church* heares ill to this day. And the occasion of their interposition in this businesse began about the election of a new Archbishop of *Canterbury* (*Hubert* being lately dead) which the Monkes of that Couent had made secretly in the night, of one *Reginald* their Subprior; to preuent the King whom they would not should haue a hand in the busines, which they pretended to appertayne freely to themselues by their ancient priuiledges. And this *Reginald* (thus elected) they instantly dispatch towards *Rome*, taking his Oath of secrerie before hand. But the fulnesse of his joy burst open that locke, and out comes the report of his aduancement, vpon his landing in *Flanders*; which the Monkes hearing, and fearing what would follow, send to the King to craue leauue to elect a fit man for that Sea. The King nominates vnto them *John Gray* Bishop of *Norwich*, whom hee especially fauoured, and perswaded them (vpon great promises of their good) to preferre : the Kings desire is propounded to the Couent, and after much debate, is *John Gray* aduanced to the Chayre. /

Wherein their last error (sayth Mat. Par.) was worse then their first, and beganne that discord, which after prooued an irreparable dammage to the Kingdome.

The King sends to *Rome* certayne of the Monkes of *Canterbury* (amongst whom was one *Helias de Brandfield*, a most trusty seruant of his) with bountifull allowance, to obtayne the Popes confirmation of this Election. And about the same time likewise send the Bishops suffragans (of the Church of *Canterbury*) their complaynts to the Pope against the Monkes, for presuming to make election without their assistance, as by Right and Custome they ought: Alledging examples of three Arch-bishops so elected. The Monkes oppose this allegation, offering to bring prooef that they onely, by the speciaall priuiledge of the Roman Bishops, were accustomed to make this election. The Pope appoints a peremptory day, for decidiug this Controuersie; wherein the first Election for being made in the night, out of due time, and without solemne Ceremony, is oppugned by the Kings procurators: The last was argued by some of the Monkes to be ill, by reason there was no cassation of the first, which iust or vniust, ought to haue beene, before any other election, could iuridically be made.

Innocent the ninth.—The Pope seeing the procurators not to agree vpon one person, by the Councell of the Cardinalls adiudged both elections voyde, and presents vnto them a third man, which was *Stephen de Lancton*, a Cardinall of great spirit, and an English-man borne, who had all the voyces of those Monkes which were there, through the perswasion of the Pope, alledging it was in their power by his prerogatiue to make good this choyce.

Stephen Lancton Elected Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*.—*Stephen Lancton* thus elected, and after Consecrated at *Viterbo*, the Pope dismisses the Monkes and the rest of the Agents with Letters to King *John*, exhorting him, *benignly* to receive this *Arch-bishop* *Canonically elected, native of his*

Kingdom, learned in al the Sciences, a Doctor of Theology ; and, which exceeded his learning, of a good life and conuersation : a man fit, both for his body and his soule, &c. Withall hee writes to the Prior, and Monkes of Canterbury, charging them by the vertue of Holy Obedience to receive the Arch-bishop to their Pastor, and humbly to obey him in all Spirituall and Temporall matters.

These letters, with the notice of what was done at *Rome*, so enraged the King, as with all precipitation he sends *Foulke de Cantle*, and *Henry de Cornhil*, two fierce Knights, with armed men, to expell the Monkes of Canterbury, as Traytors, out of the Kingdome, and to sease vpon all they had ; which presently was as violently executed as commaunded, and away packe the Prior and all the Monkes into *Flaunders* (except such as were sicke and not able to goe) and all their goods confiscated.

King *John* offended with this election, writes to the Pope.— Herewithall he writes a sharpe letter to the Pope, *accusing him of the wrong he did in cassing the election of Norwich, whom he especiall fauored, and advancing Stephen Lancton, a man vnuknown to him, bred euer in the kingdom of France, and among his enemies ; and what was more to his preiudice, and subuersion of the liberties appertaining to his crown, without his consent (giuen to the Monkes) which should first haue bin required, he had presumed rashly to prefer him : so that he much meruailed that the Pope and the vniuersall Court of Rome, would not call to minde how necessary his friendship had hitherto been to that Sea ; and consider, that the Kingdome of England yeelded the same greater profit, and commodity, then all the Kingdomes else on this side the Alpes.* Besides, that he would stand to the liberty of his *Crowne to the death*: constantly affirming, that he could not be revoked from the *Election and preferment of the Bishop of Norwich, whom he knew every way fit for the place.* And in conclusion threatens, that if he be not righted in the Premises, he would stop up the passages of his people to *Rome*;

and that if necessity required, he had in the Kingdome of England, and other his Dominions, Arch-bishops, Bishops and other Prelates of so sufficient learning, as they needed not to begge iustice, and iudgement of strangers. The Pope returnes answere to the Kings Letter, and beginnes with these Words, *When about the businesse of the Church of Canterbury, we wrote vnto you, exhorting and requesting you humbly, earnestly, and benignly, you againe wrote back to vs (as I may say, by your leave) in a fashion threatning, reproouing, contumacious, and very stubbornely ; and whilst wee tooke care, to give you aboue your right, you regard not to give vs according to our right, respecting vs lesse then becomes you. And if your deuotion be most necessary for vs, so is ours no lesse fit for you.* When we, in such a case haue honoured no Prince so much as you you sticke not to / derrogate from our honor, more then any Prince in such a case would haue done: pretending certain friuolous occasions, wherin you alledge that you cannot consent to the election of our beloued sonne Mr. Stephen Presbiter by the title of Saint Chrysogonus Cardinall, celebrated by the Monkes of Canterbury, for that he hath bin bred amongst your enemies, and his person is altogether vñknowne to you. Then argues he, *That it was not to be imputed vnto him for a fault, but was his glory to haue liued long at Paris, where he so profited in study as he deserued to be Doctor, not only in the liberall Sciences, but also in Theologie ; and his life agreeable to his learning was thought fit to obtaine a Prebend in Paris. Wherefore hee held it a marueile if a man of so great note, natvie of England, could be vñknowne vnto him, at least in fame, since (saith he) you wrote thrice vnto him after he was by vs preferred to be Cardinall ; that though you had a desire to call him to your familiar attendance, yet you reioyced that he was exaltered to a higher Office, &c.*

Then excuses hee the poynt, that the Kings consent was not required, in regard that they who should haue required the same, affirmed how their letters neuer came to his hands, &c. *Although (sayth he) in elections celebrated at the Apostolique*

Sea, the consent of Princes is not to be expected: Yet were two Monkes deputed to come to require your consent, who were stayed at Dover, so that they could not performe their message intioyned them: with other allegations to this effect, so that at length, (sayth hee) we were disposed to doe what the Canonickall Sanctions ordayne to bee done, without declining eyther to the right hand or to the left, that there might be no delay or difficulty in right intentions, lest the Lords flocke should bee long without Pastorall cure; and therefore revoked it cannot bee. In conclusion hee vseth these Words, *As wee haue had care of your Honour beyond right, endeauour to giue vs ours according unto right, that you may more plentifully deserue God's Grace, and ours, lest if you doe otherwise, you cast your selfe into those difficulties, whence you cannot easily get out: Since hee in the end must ouercome, to whom all knees bow in Heauen, Earth and Hell: whose Vice-gerency heere below (though vnworthy) wee exercise. Yeelde not therefore to their Counsells, who desire your disturbance, that themselues might fish in troubled Waters; but commit your selfe to our pleasure, which will redound to your Praise, Glorie and Honour. Neither is it safe for you to repugne against God and the Church, for which, the blessed Martyr and glorious Bishop Thomas lately shed his blood, especially since your Father and brother of cleare memory, late Kings of England, haue in the hands of the Legats of the Apostolique Sea, abiured that impious Custome. We, if you acquite your selfe, will sufficiently take care for you and yours, that no preiudice shall arise unto you hereby.* Dated at Lateran the 10th. yeare of our Pontificat.

The Popes Mandat to the B B.—Thus wee see how these two mighty powers striue to make good each others prerogatiue, and defend their interests with Words. But when the Pope vnderstood how the King of *England* had proceeded against the Church of *Canterbury*, hee sends presently his Mandate to the Bishops of *London, Eley, and Worcester*, to deale with the King by way of exhortation, to reforme himselfe; and if they found him still contumacious, they should interdict the

whole Kingdome of *England*. If that would not correct him, then himselfe would lay a seuere hand vpon him ; and with all charged the Bishops Suffragans of the Church of *Canterbury*, by vertue of their obedience to receiue for Father the Arch-bishop *Stephen*, and to obey him with all respect. The Bishops as they were enioyned, repayre to the King : Shew the Popes Mandat, and with teares besought him, *As he had God before his eyes, to call home the Arch-bishop, and the Monkes of Canterbury to their Church, and vouchsafe to use them with Honour and Charitie, thereby to auoide the scandall of interdiction, &c.*

King *Iohns* answer to the B B.—The King interrupting the Bishops speech, breakes out into violent rage against the Pope, and the Cardinall, swearing by the teeth of God, *That if they or any other should dare to put the kingdom under interdiction, he would presently send all the Clergy of England to the Pope, and confiscat their goods.* Besides, *if any of Rome were found within any part of his Land, he would cause their eyes to be put out, their noses cut, and so sent home that by these markes they might be knowne of other Nations.* Charging moreouer the Bishops presently to auoide his presence, as they would auoide their owne danger. /

1208. Anno Reg. 11.—Of this their ill satisfaction, the Bishop certifies the Pope ; and shortly after the whole Kingdome of *England* is interdicted : all Ecclesiasticall Sacraments cease, except Confession, Extreame Vnction, and Baptisme of Children : the dead are carried out, and put into the earth without Priest or Prayer. The Bishops of *London, Eley, Worcester, Bathe, and Hereford*, secretly get out of the Kingdome.

To answere this violence with the like, the King sends presently his Shriefes, and other his Ministers to command all Prelates, and their seruants forth-with to depart out of the Kingdome ; deputes the Bishoprickes, Abbayes and Priories into the hands of Lay-men, confiscating all their reuenues ; but the Prelates themselues get into Monasteries, and would not out, except expelled by force ; which the Officers would

not do, hauing no Commission for the same ; but they seize on all their goods to the Kings vse.

Heere the Monasticall Writers of that time (by whom onely we haue notice of these proceedings) aggrauate the rigorous course taken in this businesse, telling vs that religious men, of what order soeuer, found trauailing, were pulled from their Horses, robbed, and vily treated by the Kings seruants, and none to do them Iustice. And how the seruants of a Shrieafe bringing bound vnto the King a theefe (who had robbed and killed a Priest) to know what should be done with him : the King sayd, *Loose him and let him go, he hath killed our enemy.* But howsoeuer this were, there were Excesses too many committed in a time so vntied as this was.

The King takes pledges of his Nobles for their fidelity.—The King to preuent the defection of his subiects, which hee daily doubted would follow vpon this his breach with the Church, sends with a military power, to all the potent men of the Kingdome, to require pledges for the assurance of their fidelity: wherein many of them satisfied the Kings will, sending some their sonnes, some their nephewes, other the nearest of their kinne. *William de Brause* a Noble man beeing required to deliuer his pledge, his wife preuenting her husbands answere, tells the Commissioners, *That the King should haue none of her sonnes to keepe, that was so ill a keeper of his owne brothers son, Arthur;* for which suddaine and intemperate speech, the Baron sharply reprehending his wife before the Kings seruants, told them he was ready, if he had offended, to satisfie the King, without any pledge, according to the iudgement of his Court, or that of his Peeres, at any time or place wheresoeuer.

His cruelty shewed to the wife and children of *William de Brause.*—Vpon the report of this answer the King sends downe priuily to apprehend the Baron; but he hauing notice, or doubting what would follow, fled with his Wife and Children into *Ireland*; where, afterward this afflicted Lady to recouer mercy of the King, is said to haue sent Queene *Isabel* foure

hundred Kine, and a Bull ; which yet could not mediate her pardon, or pacifie his wrath. But in the end she was there taken with her two sonnes (the husband escaping into *France*) and sent Prisoner to the Castle of *Windsor*, where she with her two innocent children were famished to death ; so dearely payd shee, for the offence of her rash tongue.

The Exchequer remooued to *Northampton*.—The King displeased with the *Londoners*, remoued his Exchequer to *Northampton*, and with a great Army marches towards *Scotland*, to make Warre vpon that King for receiuing his enemies, and ayding them against him. But by mediation an accord is made, in this sort, that the King of *Scots* should pay eleuen thousand markes of siluer, and deliuere vp his two daughters pledges for securing the peace. Returning backe, hee caused all inclosures within his Forrests to be layde open, a worke of great grieve to his subiects : whom, though in nothing he sought to satisfie, yet seekes hee what hee may to fasten them in their obedience (whereof loue, and not rigour is the surest bond) and takes homage of all Free Tenants, yea euen of children of twelue yeares of age, throughout the Kingdome.

King *John* excommunicated.—Two yeares, to the great distraction of the State, the interdiction held, when the Pope, seeing no yeelding in the King, proceeds to the excommunication of his person, that extreame course of abscission, which his Predecessor *Alexander*, better aduised, forbare to take, vpon a suggestion of a more haynous act committed by *Henry* the second, vpon the person of *Thomas Becket*; and by this violence, thinking to quaile the heart of a most vnmaisterable King, put him into more desperate rage with the Clergy, who notwithstanding the Popes mandate, durst not execute the same for many dayes after.

The Arch-deacon of *Norwich* forsakes the kings seruice, his torture and death.—And first one *Geffery*, Arch-deacon of *Norwich*, seruing in the Kings Exchequer, conferring with the rest of his assistants, about this Sentence, affirmed, it was

not safe for men beneficed to remaine in the obedience of an excommunicated King ; and so without leauue retired himselfe home ; and was the first subiect of his maisters wrath. Who presently sent Sir *William Talbot* with force to apprehend him, and lay him fast in Fetteris in a most streight prison ; and afterward, vpon the Kings Commandment, hee was put into a sheete of Lead, wherein with the weight, and want of victualls hee soone perished.

The Emperor *Otho* excommunicated.—This excommunication of the King of *England*, was accompanied the same yeare with that of the Emperour *Otho* his Nephew, and are noted to bee stains of an vniust nature, especially for being both done in cases of the Popes owne particular interest, seeking to extend a predomination, beyond the bounds allowed vnto piety, which was, onely to deale with mens soules, and not their estates. For in the aduancement of this Emperour *Otho* the third, the Pope had an especiall hand, opposing, for his owne ends the Election of *Phillip Sonne* to the Emperour *Fredericke Barbarossa*. And in the vacancy of the Empire had seized vpon certaine peeces in *Italy* appertayning thereunto ; which, *Otho* seeking to reuoke, procured vndeseruedly the Popes displeasure, who sent vnto him diuers messages, willing him to desist both from the prosecution of this recouery, as also from that which *Fredericke King of Sicile* (who was vnder the tuition of the Apostolike Sea) had seized vpon.

The Emperour, is sayd to haue answered the *Popes Nuncij*, in this manner : *If the Pope vniustly desires to usurpe what appertaines to the Empire, let him absolu me from the oath he caused me to take at my Coronation ; which was, that I should reuoke whatsoever rights were distracted from the same ; and I will desist.* But the Pope refusing the one, and the Emperor not yeelding vnto the other, the sentence of excommunication is pronounced against him. And all the States, as well of *Germanie* as the rest of the Roman Empire, are absolued of their fealty vnto him. Thus were these two mighty Princes,

the greatest of all the Christian World, left to the mercy of their subiects; who, though they were, by this meanes, all vntyed from obedience, yet many were not so from their affections, or other obligations that held them firme vnto their Soueraignes. For there are so many ligaments in a state that tye it together, as it is a hard thing to dissolve them altogether, vnlesse it be by an vniuersall concurrency of causes that produceth a generall alteration thereof. And it is seldome seene of what temper soeuer Kings are, but they finde an eminent party in the greatest defection of their people. As this King (the first of *England*, we find put to this streight) had yet many noble members of power, besides the chiefe Officers of the Kingdome (whom their places confirme) that stucke vnto him. Whose names are recorded in *Mat. Par.* and other Writers.

1210. Anno Reg. 12. King *John* reformes *Ireland*. The Clergy pay to the king 100000. l. ster.—And the better to hold his reputation, and his people in action, hauing now no employment abroad, he seekes to secure all other members of the Crowne of *England*, which were vnder his Dominion. And hauing ransackt great Treasure from the Iewes, makes an expedition into *Ireland*, vpon intelligence of some reuolt and disorder there. And at his first ariuall, all the great men which held the maritime Castles and the Champion Countries came in, and did homage and fealty vnto him at *Dublin*: such as inhabited the remote parts, and fastnesses of the Kingdome, kept themselues away, and refused to come. Heere to reduce the Country into better order, hee ordaines the same to bee gouerned by the Lawes and Customes of *England*, causes English money to be coyned there; and to be of equall value with that of this Kingdome, and currant alike in both: With many other orders, which had they bin with that care continued as they were aduisedly begun, would (as wise men deeme) haue setled that Kingdom in an intire obedience, and sauied all that great toyle, and expence, which the neglect thereof cost this State in succeeding ages. And now hauing

deputed *John Gray*, Bishop of *Norwich*, Iusticier there, after onely three moneths stay, he returns into *England*, where presuming now vpon his new gathered strength, hee summons all the Prelates of the Kingdome to appeare before him at *London*; of whom sayth *Mat. Par.* he extorted for their redemption, the summe of an hundred thousand pound sterlinc.

1211, *Anno Reg. 13*; 1212, *Anno Reg. 14*.—And the next yeare, beeing the twelft of his Reigne, with his Treasure hee reduces *Wales* (that had rebelled) to his Obedience, and takes eight and twenty children of the best families for pledges of their future subiection. Returning thence, exacts of euery Knight, that attended not his Army in that expedition, two markes; and at *Northampton* is pleased to receiue the Popes Agents, *Pandolphus* and *Durandus* (sent to make peace betweene the Kingdome and Priest-hood) by whose exhortation, and the consideration of the State of his Kingdome, hee consented that the Arch-bishop and the Monkes of *Canterbury*, with all the exiled Bishops, should in peace returne to their owne. But refusing to make satisfaction for their goods confiscated, the Agents depart vnsatisfied, to the greater preiudice of the King; whom now the Pope finding to bee yeelding in any thing, falles to bee more imperious to constraine him to all whatsoeuer hee desired: And absolues all the Kings subiects of what condition soeuer from their obedience, strictly forbidding them, vnder paine of excommunication, his Board, Counsell, and Conference. Which notwithstanding preuailed not to diuert the Subiects from the seruice of their King. Who about this time takes occasion, vpon the breaking out of certaine poore Mountaineres of *Wales*, that makes pillage vpon the Borders, to rayse another Army to inuade the whole Countrey. And being at *Nottingham*, prepared for this action (before he would sit downe to dinner) caused those eight and twenty children, the innocent pledges of the *Welch*, to be all hanged in his presence. But before

hee had dyned, Letters came that gaue him intelligence of a Conspiracy intended for his owne destruction ; and that if hee went forward in this Warre, he would be eyther slaine of his owne people, or betrayed to the enemy. Whereupon he returnes to *London*, againe requires, and hath pledges of those Nobles hee suspected ; and heere *Eustace de Vescy*, and *Robert Fitz Walter*, are accused of the Conspiracy, who fled, the one into *Scotland*, the other into *France*.

1213. Anno Reg. 15. The pope giues the kingdome of *England* to the king of *France*.—But now the Pope, for the last, and greatest sentence that euer yet was giuen against any Soueraigne King of this Kingdome, pronounces his absolute deposition from the Royall gouernment thereof, and writes to the King of *France*, *That as he looked to haue remission of his sinnes, he should take the charge vpon him, and expell King Iohn out of the Kingdome of England, and possesse the same for him, and his heires for euer.* To the same effect sends he likewise his Letters to the Princes, and great men of other Nations, *That they should aide the King of France in the dejection of this contumacious King of England, in reuenge of the iniuries done to the Vniuersall Church; granting like remission of their sins, as if they vndertooke the Holie Warre.*

And with this Commission is the Arch-bishop of *Canterburie*, and the other exiled Bishops of *England* with *Pandolphus*, dispatched to the King of *France* for the execution thereof. Which, notwithstanding, seemes rather done to terrifie King *Iohn*, then any way to aduance the King of *France*, whom the Pope desired not to make greater then he was : howsoever, to amuse the world, hee made shew to ingage him in this businesse. For he gaue a secret charge to *Pandolphus* apart, *that if vpon the preparation, and forces gathered by the King of France for this dejection, he could worke the King of England, to such conditions as he should propound; absolution and restoration should be granted unto him.*

The King of *France* assembles his forces for *England*.

King *Johns* preparations for defence.—The King of *France*, vpon this act of the Pope, and the sollicitation of his Ministers, commands all the Princes and Nobility within his Dominions to assemble their forces with Horse, Armour, and all Munition to assist him in this businesse, and bee ready, vnder paine of exheredation, at the Spring of the yeare : preparing likewise a great Nauy for the transportation of these forces into *England*. King *John*, vpon intelligence hereof sends to all the ports of his Kingdome commandement, to haue all shipping whatsoeuer possible to be made ready with all expedition : Summoning likewise *all Earles, Barons, Knights, and who else could beare Armes of any condition, to be ready at Douer, presently upon Easter, furnished with Horse, Armour, and all militarie prouision to defend him, themselves, and the Kingdome of England against this intended Inuasion, vnder paine of Culuertage, and perpetuall seruitude.*

Whereupon so great numbers resorted to *Douer, Feuersham, Ipswich*, and to other places suspected, as exceeded the meanes both of furnishment, and prouision to enterteayne / them. So that multitudes were sent home againe of vnecessary men, and onely a choyce reserued of the abler sort, which arose to the number of sixty thousand well appoynted for battaile. Besides, so mighty a Nauy was made ready, as exceeded that of *France*.

King *John* deliuers vp the kingdome of *England* with his Crowne to *Pandolphus*.—And thus prepared, King *John* expects his enemies, when secretly, two Knights Templars, sent by *Pandolphus*, so wrought with him, as notwithstanding all this great power of his, he descends to accept of a treaty with him. Whereof *Pandolphus* is presently aduertised, and withdrawes himselfe out of the French Kings Army, comes ouer, and so terrifies King *John*, with the mighty forces bent against him, and the eminent danger wherein he stood, as hee yeeldes to any conditions whatsoeuer propounded vnto him. And not onely grants restitution and satisfaction of what euer had bin

taken from the Arch-bishop, and the Monkes of *Canterbury*; the Bishops of *London, Ely, Bath, and Lincolne*, (who were fled to the Arch-bishop:) but also layes downe his Crowne, Scepter, Mantle, Sword, and Ring, *the ensignes of his royalty*, at the feete of *Pandolphus*, deliuering vp therewithall the Kingdome of *England* to the Pope, and submits himselfe to the iudgement and mercy of the Church.

The causes that moued king *John* to this act.—Two dayes (some write sixe) it was before the Legate restored him his Crowne: at the receiuing whereof, he swore (and his Earles vndertaking for him) *that he and his successors should hold the Kingdome of England, and Lordship of Ireland, from the Sea of Rome, at the annuall tribute of a thousand Markes of Siluer*. And this, with his homage and fealty, hee confirmed by his Charter at a house of the Templars, neere *Douer*. The especiall weights that moued King *John* to this extreame lownesse, they of those times, note to be. First, the consideration of his offences to God, hauing liued fife yeares excommunicated, to the great deformity of his Kingdome. Secondly, the greatnessse of his enemy the King of *France*, and his adherence. Thirdly, the doubtfull faith of his Nobilitie, whom he had offended. Fourthly, for that the *Ascention* day was at hand; after which, one *Peter a Hermit* and Southsayer had prophesied, hee should be no more King of *England*. Which, though mistaken in the manner, was fulfilled in a sort by this resignation, and a new condition of Estate. But the Southsayer with his Sonne, suffered shortly after the penalty of death, for his otherwise interpreted diuination.

Pandolphus forbids the *French Kings* proceedings.—Now, notwithstanding this act and submission of King *John*, the interdiction of the Kingdome continues, and his owne absolution deferred, till restitution, and full satisfaction were performed to the Clergy; of which, eight thousand markes of siluer was presently deliuered to *Pandolphus*; who at the receiuing thereof, tramples it vnder his feete, as contemning

that base matter, in respect of the grace conferred vpon the Transgressor ; and returnes with the same into *France*. Where he declares what had passed in *England* ; and forbids the King of France, *vpon paine of excommunication, to proceed any further in this enterprise, seeing King Iohn had thus submitted himselfe to the Church.*

The King of *France*, now all in readinesse for this great inuasion, and full with hope of Victory, receiuing this suddain, and vnexpected Message, grew into great rage, and was, in regard of his honour, and infinite charge, hardly diuerted from this enterprise. Yet in the end, seeing his Confederates and followers quailed with this menace of the Church, extreamely discontent, hee giues it ouer.

The *French* king sets vpon *Flanders*.—Notwithstanding, for his owne reputation and desire of reuenge, hauing all these great forces on foote, and his Nauy ready in the mouth of *Seine*, would vndertake something to giue satisfaction both to the Aduenturers, and his owne people interessed in this action. And for that, *Ferrand* Earle of *Flaunders*, adhering to King *Iohn*, refused to follow him in this expedition, on him hee fals (as being next him) enters into his Port of *Dam*, *vowing that Flanders should either be France, or France, Flanders*. *Ferrand*, seeing this tempest come to light vpon him, sends for ayde to King *Iohn*, who glad, hauing escaped at home the occasion of a defensiuе Warre, to enter into an offensiuе abroad, both to employ this great collected Nauy of his, and also put his people in action, whose dismission, without some satisfaction, hee knew would breed no safe humor ; dispatches fие hundred Sayle, with seuen hundred Knights into *Flanders*, vnder the conduct of his base brother *William Long-sword* Earle of *Salisbury*, *Reginald* Earle of *Bologn*, whom hee / had lately entertayned with a pension, being for some demerit driuen out of *France*. And these arriuing at the Port of *Dam*, where they found the French Nauy vnorderly dispersed, and without defence (their forces

going out to inuade the Country) set vpon, and vtterly defeated the same, and afterward ioyning their power with that of *Ferrand*, draue the King of *France* home with great dishonour, and exceeding losse.

King *John* raysed with this victory, and his peace with the Church, sets upon great designes, taking opportunity of this disaster of the King of *France*; whom, in reuenge of his iniury, and hope of recouering his transmarine Dominions, hee plots to assayle on all sides: stirring vp his Nephew *Otho* to ayde the Earle of *Flanders*, for an inuasion vppon the East part, whilst himselfe with all his power should enter vppon the West. For execution whereof, first hee sends supplies of Treasure to his Chieftaines in *Flanders*, then assembles a great Army at *Portsmouth*, wherewith, hee resolves to passe the Seas.

The Nobility refused to ayde King *John*.—But his designe, contrary to his desire and haste, came to bee delayed by the withdrawing of his Nobility, who refused to ayde or attend him, vntill hee were absolued, and had confirmed vnto them their liberties: wherewith much enraged, seeing no other remedy, hee speedily sends for the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and the other Bishops, which were yet in *France*, promising them present restitution, and satisfaction, vnder the hands and seales of foure and twenty Earles and Barons, vndertaking for the performance thereof, according to the forme of his Charter granted in this behalfe. *Pandolphus* with the Bishop and the rest of the exiled Clergy, forth-with come ouer, and finde the King at *Winchester*, where hee goeth foorth to meete them, and on his knees, with teares, receiuers them, *Beseeching them to haue compassion on him, and the Kingdome of England*. Absolued hee is with great penitence, and compassion exprest with teares of all the beholders, and sweares vpon the Euan-gelists, *to loue, defend, and maintaine Holy Church, and the Ministers thereof, against their aduersaries, to the vttermost of his power: That he would renue the good Lawes of his Predecessors, and especially those of King Edward, abrogating such as*

were vniust: Judge all his subiects according to the iust iudgment of his Court: That presently vpon Easter next following he would make plenary satisfaction of whatsoeuer had beeene taken from the Church.

1214. Anno Reg. 16.—Which done, hee returns to *Portsmouth*, with intention to passe ouer into *France*, committing the gouernment of the Kingdome to *Geffery Fitz Peter*, and the Bishop of *Winchester*, with charge that they should order all businesses, together with the Councell of the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*.

And heere a numerous company of souldiers repaying to him, complayned that by their long attendance their money was spent, so that they could not follow him vnlesse they might bee supplied out of his Exchequer: Which the King refusing to doe, in a great rage, with his priuate family, takes ship, and puts forth to the Isle of *Jersey*; but seeing none of his Nobles or other to follow him, was forced (hauing lost the opportunity of the season) to returne into *England*; where hee gathers an Army, with intention to chastise the Lords who had thus forsaken him. But the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* followes him to *Northampton*, *Vrging that it was against his Oath taken at his absolution, to proceed in that manner against any man; without the iudgment of his Court.* To whom the King in great passion replyed; *That he would not deferre the businesse of the Kingdome for his pleasure, seeing Lay iudgment appertained not vnto him;* and so in fury marches to *Nottingham*.

The Arch-bishop threatens to excommunicate the king.—The Arch-bishop followes him, and playnely told him, *That vnlesse he would desist from this businesse, he would excommunicate all such, as should take armes against any, before the releasing of the interdiction; and would not leaue him, vntill hee had obtayned a conuenient day for the Lords to come to his Court,* which shortly after they did; and a Parliament is assembled in *Paules*, wherein the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*

produces a Charter of King *Henry* the first,¹ whereby hee granted the ancient liberties of the Kingdome of *England* (which had by his Predecessours beene opprest with vniust exactions) according to the Lawes of King *Edward*; with those emendations which his Father, by the Counsell of his Barons did ratifie (*Legam Regis Edwardi vobis redde cum illis emendationibus quibus Pater meus eam emendauit*). And this Charter beeing read before / the Barons they much reioyced, *and swore in the presence of the Archbishop, that for these liberties they would if need required, spend their blood.* And therewithall, concluding a Confederation with the Arch-bishop, the Parliament brake vp.

Shortly after dyes *Geffery Fitz Peter*, Iusticiar of *England*, a man of a generous spirit, learned in the Lawes, and skilfull in gouernment. Who in that broken time, onely held vncrased, performing the part of an euen Counsellour and Officer betweene the King and Kingdome ; whom though the King most vsed, hee most feared, and least loued, as ill Princes doe their worthiest Ministers, whose grauity and iudgement may seeme to keepe them in awe. And hearing of his death, reioycing sayd, Now when he comes into Hell, let him salute the Arch-bishop *Hubert*, whom assuredly he shall find there. And turning to those about him, *swore by the feet of God, that now at length he was King, and Lord of England*, hauing a freer power to vntye himselfe from those knots which his oath had made to this great man against his will, and to breake all the bands of the late concluded peace, vnto which he repented to haue euer condescended. And to shewe the desperate malice of this King (who, rather then not to haue an absolute domination ouer his people, to doe what he listed, would be any thing himselfe vnder any other that would but support him in his violences) there is recorded an Ambassage (the most base and impious that euer yet was sent by any free and Christian Prince) vnto *Miramumalim* the Moore, intitled the

¹ This Charter is recorded in *Mat. Par.* with testes of the Subscribers.

great King of *Africa, Morocco, and Spaine*, wherein he offered to render vnto him his Kingdome, and to hold the same by tribute from him, as his soueraigne Lord: To forgoe the Christian Faith (which hee held vayne,) and receiue that of *Mahomet*. In which negotiation, the Commissioners are named to be, *Thomas Hardington, Ralph Fitz Nichols, Knights, and Robert of London Clarke.* (*Mat. Par.*)

Miramumalim scornes the message of King *Iohn*. A note of the Kings irreligion.—The manner of their accesse to this great King is related, with the deliuery of their message, and King *Iohns* Charter to that effect; and how *Miramumalim* hauing heard at large their message, and the description both of the King and Kingdome, with the nature and disposition of the people, so much disdayned the basenesse, and impiety of the offerer, as with scorne hee commaunded his Ministers to depart instantly out of his presence, and Court. Yet afterward, to vnderstand some more particulars of the madnes of this King of *England*, he called for *Robert the Clarke*, and had priuate conference with him apart, about many particulars; which hee himselfe reuealed to many, in the hearing of *Mathew the Monke of Saint Albans*, who wrot and declared these things, describing the person of this *Robert*, to be of a low stature, blacke, one arme shorter then another, two fingers vnnaturally growing together, of visage like a Iew, &c. which relation we are not vtterly to contemne, proceeding from an Author of that grauity and credit, and liuing so neere those times, though to vs that are so farre off both in fashion and faith, it may seeme improbable in some parts; yet if wee consider whereto the desperate violence of this King, (who had made vtter wracke of conscience and all humane respect) might carry him, seeing himselfe in that estate he was, we may not thinke it voyd of likely-hood, to haue had this dealing with an heathen king (who, in that time was formidable to all Christendome, and had on foote the mightiest Army that euer the Moores had in *Spaine*) which might eyther be to hold

amity with him, or entartayne him otherwise for his owne ends. Though for the point of offering to forgoe the Christian faith, we may in charity forbear to make it a part of ours. Although this relator giues vs a note (amongst other which he supprest) that poynted at the irreligion of this king, who at the opening of a Fat Stag, ieastingly sayd, See how prosperously this beast hath liued, and yet neuer heard Masse. Which skoffe, in regard of the zeale then professed, sauoured of an impiety, vnfiting the mouth of a Religious king, and gaue scandall to the hearers, who tooke it according to their apprehension, apt to censure whatsoeuer comes from the mouth of Princes ; which may warne them to be wary what they vtter in publique.

King *John* bribes the *Pope* and renewes his oath.—But this Embassage, either neglected by *Miramumalim*, or disappointed by the ouerthrow of his great Army, with the death of his Sonne (which shortly after followed) King *John* sets vpon another course, assayles Pope *Innocent* (prone to bee wrought by gift to doe any thing) with great summes of money, and a re-assurance of his tributary subiection ; which shortly after hee confirmeſ by a new oath and a new Charter before / the Popes Legate the Bishop of *Tusculum*, sent ouer for the same purpose, and with full authority to compose the dissensions betweene the Kingdome and Priesthood. Which at many Assemblies in diuers places was after debated, and in the end order was taken for a plenary satisfaction to bee made for the damages done to the Church. For which the King vpon account already, had payed twenty seauen thousand Markes, and thirteene thousand more were vndertaken by Sureties, to bee answered by a certayne day.

1214. *Anno Reg. 16.* The interdiction released.—And heereupon is the Interdiction released, hauing continued sixe yeares, three moneths, and foureteene dayes, to the inestimable losse of the Church and Churchmen, whereof an innumerable multitude of all orders now repayre to the Legate for satisfaction of damages receiued by the Kings ministers during this

interdiction. To whom the Legate answeres : That it was not in his Commission to deale for restitution to bee made vnto them all, but aduises them to complayne to the Pope, and craue of him plenary Iustice. Whereupon they depart much discontented, holding the Legates proceeding (for that he pleased not them) inclining onely to please the King : Who now is recommended to *Rome* for a most tractable, obedient, and indulgent Sonne of the Church, and the Clergy heares of blame for their obstinacy vsed towards him.

The King hauing referred the ending of all this controuersie to the Legate, and some other of his owne ministers (beeing assured of the Popes fauour) was now gone into *Poictou*, to assayle (according to his former designe) the King of *France* on that side : whilst his forces with those of the Emperour *Otho*, by the way of *Flanders*, inuaded him on the other. And being with his Queene, landed at *Rochell*, many principall Barons of *Poictou* (apter to promise then performe their faith) came and swore fealty vnto him : With whom hee marches forward into the Country, recouers many Castles and peeces of importance. Whereof particularly by his owne Letters from *Parthenai*, hee certifies his Iustices of the Exchequer. And withall, shewes them how hee had granted to the Sonne of the Earle of *March*, his daughter *Ioan* in marriage, (though sayd hee, the King of *France* desired her for his sonne, but fraudulently, &c.).

The famous battaile of *Bouines*. The death of the Emperour *Otho*.—After this he goes into *Brittaine*, takes in the City of *Nantes*, prepares to encounter with *Louys* the French Kings sonne, who was come downe with a mighty army to oppose his proceeding. But the *Poictouins* distrusting his power, or hee them (hauing discouered the forces of the enemy) refused to fight : Whereupon the King of *England* to his extreame grieve, forsooke the field, and made a dishonourable truce with the King of *France*; and this was the last of his transmarine attempts. His forces into *Flanders* had farre worse successe ;

for the King of *France* with all the power hee could possibly make, incounters them at the bridge of *Bouines*, and ouerthrew the Emperour *Otho*, and the whole Army of the Confederates ; wherein are reported to haue beene an hundred and fifty thousand foote besides horse, and in the battaile, slayne a thousand ffe hundred Knights, and taken prisoners, *Ferrand Earle of Flanders*, the Earles of *Salisbury* and *Bologne*. And (as report the *Annales of Flanders*,) the Earle of *Sauoy*, the Dukes of *Brabant* and *Lamburg*, and the Earle of *Luxemburg* : the Emperour *Otho* the fourth, hardly escaped, and liued not long after.

King *John* takes vpon him the Crosse to secure himselfe from the Barons. The resolution of the Barons assembling their army at *Stamford*. A Schedule of the demaunds of the Lords.—Vppon these misfortunes, and fearing the outrage of a necessitous and distempered King, the Barons of *England* assembled themselves at *S^t. Edmonsburie*, where they confer of the late produced Charter of *Henry* the first, and swore vpon the high Altar, that if King *John* refused to confirme and restore vnto them those liberties (the rights of the Kingdome) they would make warre upon him vntill he had satisfied them therein : And further agreed that after Christmas next they would petition him for the same, and in the meane time prouide themselues of Horse and Furniture, to bee ready if the King should start from his Oath made at *Winchester* at the time of his absolution, for the confirmation of these liberties, and compell him to satisfie their demaund. After Christmas they repayre in a military manner to the King lying in the new Temple, vrging their desire with great vehemency : the King, seeing their resolution, and inclination to Warre, made answere, *That for the matter they required, he would take consideration till after Easter next ; and in the meane time, he tooke vpon him the crosse (rather, as is said, through feare then devotion) / supposing himselfe to bee more safe vnder that protection.* But the Lords continuing their

resolution, fore-seeing nothing was to bee obtayned but by strong hand, assemble an Army at *Stamford*, wherein are sayd to be two thousand Knights, besides Esquires with those that serued on foote; and from thence marched towards *Oxford* where the King then expected their comming, according to the appoynted time, for answer to their demaunds. And being come to *Brackly* with their Army the King sends the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and *William Earle of Pembrooke Mareschall*, with other graue Counsellors, to demaund of them, what were those Lawes and Liberties they required? to whom they shewed a Schedule of them, which the Commissioners deliuer to the King, who hauing heard them read, in great indignation asked why *The Barons did not likewise demaund the Kingdome, and swore that he would neuer grant those Liberties whereby himselfe should bee made a seruant.* So harsh a thing is it to a power that hath once gotten out into the wide liberty of his will, to heare againe of any reducing within his Circle: not considering how they who inherit Offices succeed in the obligation of them, and that the most certaine meanes to preserue vnto a King his Kingdomes, is to possesse them with the same conditions that he hath inherited them.

The Lords seize on the Kings Castles.—The Barons vpon his answere, being as hasty as he was avers, resolute to seize on his Castles, and presently march towards *Northampton*, which they besiege, constituting *Robert FitzWalter* their Generall, intituling him the *Mareschall of the army of God, and holy Church.* And after they assayle the Castle of *Bedford*, where *William de Beauchamp* rendring his charge, receiuers them; and the Londoners send thither priuy message to ioyne with them, and deliuer vp the City to be guarded by their discretion.

The Lords repaire to *London*.—And thither they repaire, and are ioyfully receiued, vnder pact of their indemnity, where daily increasing in number of new Confederates, they make their protestation, neuer to giue ouer the prosecution of their

desire, till they had constrainyd the King (whom they held periured) to grant them their rights.

King *John* forsaken of his people. The Earle *Mareschal* and other mediate a reconciliation. A Parliament for restoring the Rights and Liberties of the Kingdome.—King *John* seeing himselfe, in a manner generally forsaken, hauing scarce seauen Knights faithfull vnto him, counterfeits the seales of the B B. and writes in their names to all nations that the English were all Apostats, and whosoeuer would come to inuade them, he, by the Popes consent, would confer vpon them all their Lands, and possessions. But this deuise working no effect, in regard of the little confidence they had in the King, and the power of the Kingdome: a new mediation is made to the Barons by the Earle Mareschall and others, and a Parle is had betweene *Windsor* and *Stanes*, in a Meadow called *Running-Mead* (a place anciently vsed for such Conferences) where after many meetings and much debate, the King freely consented, for the glory of God, and emendation of the Kingdome, to confirme those Lawes and Liberties formerly restored, and in part ordayne by *Henry* the first.

Articles of the agreement confirmed by King *John*.—And to the end that all discord should vtterly cease, he grants for the intire and firme enioying these Lawes and Liberties, Security in this manner: *That there should be fife and twenty Barons chosen of the Kingdome, such as they would, who should, to their vtmost power cause the same to be held, and obserued.* And that, *if either the King or his chiefe Iusticiar should transgresse in any Article of these Lawes, and the offence shewed; foure Barons of the fife and twenty should come to the King, or in his absence out of the Kingdom, to his chiefe Iusticiar, and declare the excesse, requiring without delay, redresse for the same: which if not made, within the space of forty daies after such declaration; those foure Barons should referre the cause to the rest of the fife and twenty, who with the Commons of the land might restrain, and enforce him by all meanes they could (viz. by*

seizing vpon his Castles, Lands and Possessions or other goods ; his person excepted, and that of his Queene and Children) till amends should be made, according to their arbitration. And that whosoeuer would, should take their Oath for the execution hereof, and obey the commandement of the ffeue and twenty Barons herein without prohibition. And if any of them dissented, or could not assemble, the maior part to haue the same power of proceeding. Besides for more caution, the foure Chatelaines of the Castles of Northampton, Kenelworth, Nottingham, and Skarbrrough, should be sworne to obey the Commaundement of the ffeue and twenty Barons ; or the maior part of them, in whatsoeuer they thought good concerning those Castles. Wherein none should be placed but such as were faithfull, and would obserue their Oath, &c. That all strangers, whereof diuers are expresaely nominated, should be mooued out of the Kingdome. And a generall pardon granted for all transgressions committed, through the occasion of this discord, from the beginning thereof to this present time. And mutuall Oathes taken of both sides, in solemne manner, for the inuiolable obseruing all these Articles. The King likewise sends his Letters-Patents to all the Shriefes of the Kingdome, to cause all men of what degree soeuer, within their severall Shieres, to sweare to obserue those Lawes and Liberties thus granted by his Charter.

1215. Anno Reg. 17. King John by euill councell frustrates his owne Grants.—And in this manner (though it were to bee wished, it had not beeene in this manner) were recouered the rights of the Kingdome. Whereof, though they seeme to haue now the *Liuery* they had not the *Seisin*. For presently the King beeing loose from the doing, which he pretends to be by force, vnlooses the Deed, and there wanted not those about him, who obseruing which way his will bent, to turne him more violently vpon that side ; not in regard of his good, but their owne interests, making more profit by his irregularity then otherwise they could, of his orderly courses : Telling him he was now a King without a Kingdome, a Lord without a

Dominion, and a subiect to his Subiects. Wicked Counsellors, as if it were not enough, to be aboue men, but to be aboue mankind, as those Princes would be, that would bee aboue the Law ; considering the preseruation of Kings and Kingdomes is to haue the ballance of satisfaction, both of the one and other, equall. But by such Counsailors is he confirmed in his refractory humour. And worthily that Prince deserues to bee deceiued in his executions, who vnderstands not, as well the Counsailors, as the Councell.

Retires into the Isle of Wight, and writes to the Pope. The Pope excommunicates the Barons.—Resolued he is (giuen ouer to confusion and reuenge) to dissolve this tye, and priuily withdrawes himselfe into the Isle of *Wight*; from whence hee sends his Agents to *Rome*, (where now hee could doe any thing) to complaine of this inforced act to the Pope, who by a definitiue Sentence, first condemnes and nullifies what was done, and after excommunicates the Barons : who during this absence and retire of their King, knowing the violence of his nature, and doubting their owne danger, keepe in, and about the City of *London*; and there vnder colour of Turnements and exercise of armes, inuite those who were abroade to resort vnto them, and so retaine themselues together in a combination for their owne defence, without seeking farther to interrupt their Kings courses, eyther by surprise of his person, which they, being of so great strength, might easily haue done, or vsing meanes to intercept his Agents, and take from him those Limbes of his power that might worke to offend them.

The errorre of the Barons.—But this must eyther argue that their end was onely to haue (but what they had obtained) the restitution of the Liberties of the Kingdome (which though thus recouered by violence they seemed desirous to hold with peace) or else their negligence ; which may be thought strange in those wakefull and active times, to be such, as to leaue a displeased King alone to his owne working, especially remooued to a place, where the Sea being open vnto him, his

out-sendings might bee without view or noting ; vnlesse either they presumed of his little credit abroad, or their owne power at home.

The king sends to leauy forraigne forces. He meetes with them at *Douer*. *Hugh de Bouis* with 40000. men &c. comming out of *Flanders* drowned.—But during this his retyre in the Isle, which was three moneths, he slacks no time to put his desires in execution, and besides his dispatch to *Rome*, sends the Bishop of *Worcester*, Chancellor of *England*, the Bishop of *Norwich*, and others with his seale, to procure him Forraigne forces out of such parts beyond the seas, as held correspondency with him, appointing them to repaire to *Douer* about *Michaelmas* next. In the meane time, without any royll shew or stirre (attended with some borrowed seruants of the Bishop of *Norwich*, and Marriners of the Cinke-ports, whom hee entartayned) hee, as they write, fell to piracy and exercised himselfe at sea : whiles various reports are made of him here on land ; some giuing out, that he was turned Fisher, some a Merchant, others a Pyrate. But at the time appointed he meetes at *Douer* with those Forraigne forces, drawne together out of *Poictou* and *Gascony*, vnder the Conduct of *Sauarie de Malcon*, *Geffery* and *Oliuer Buteuile* brothers : with others out of *Louaine*, and *Brabant*, vnder *Walter Bucke*, *Gerrard Sotin*, and *Godshall*, all desperate aduenturers, leading an execrable sort of people, whose miserable fortunes at home, easily drew them to any mischieves abroad ; and with these is King *John* Furnished to set vpon his owne people. And, had not *Hugh de Boues* (to whom the Countries of *Suffolk* and *Norfolk* were allotted for seruice to bee done) setting foorth from *Calice* with 40. thousand more (men, women and children) beene by a suddaine tempest drowned in the Sea, hee had made an vniuersall Conquest of the Kingdome, farre more miserable then the Norman ; considering that with those hee had, he wrought so much as we shall heare presently hee did.

The King in halfe a yeare recouers all his Castles.—For, after he had recouered the Castle of *Rochester*, which *William de Albinet*, with memorable courage, held out three monthes against all that mighty power of his (the Barons not able or not aduenturing to succour him) hee marched ouer the most of the Kingdome, and within halfe a yeare got in all the Castles of the Barons euen to the borders of *Scotland*, and was absolute Maister of all *England*, except the City of *London*, on which he forbare to aduenture, in regard of the close vnited power of the Barons that resolutely held and vowed to dye together; and separate them hee could not, and therefore from *Rochester* he marches to St. *Albones*, where the first publication of the Popes excommunication of the Barons is pronounced.

1216. Anno Reg. 18. King *John* at St. *Albons* deuides his Army in two parts.—And here he deuides his Army (consisting most of rauenous strangers) in two parts: appointing his brother *William Earle of Salisbury*, with *Falcasius, Sauary de Malleon* Leader of the *Poictouins, Briwer, and Buc* of the *Flemings* and *Brabantines*, to guard the Countries and Castles about the City of *London*, to cut off all prouisions, and annoy the Barons by all meanes possible: himselfe with the other part of his Forces drawes Northward, and layes waste all the Countries before him, and both these Armies set only vpon distruption, inflict all those calamities, that the rage of a disorderly Warre could commit, vpon a miserable people that made no head at all against them.

The Barons sollicite *Louys* the *French* kings sonne, to take vpon him the Crowne of *England*.—All Countries suffer in this affliction, and King *John* marching as farre as *Barwicke*, had purposed to haue carried it farther (threatning *Alexander King of Scots, That he would hunt the Foxe to his hole*, alluding to his red haire) had hee not beene called from that attempt to come backe to these parts, vpon discouery of new Designes practised by the Barons, who seeing themselues depriued of their Estates (giuen away to Strangers) their wiues and daughters

violated, all their substance consumed, desperately fall vpon an other extreame—making out for succour to *Louys* the French Kings sonne, solliciting him to take vpon him the Crowne of *England*; wherein they promised by their Free election to inuest him, and to send pledges for the performance thereof; beeing perswaded that those Forces of the French, which King *John* had entartayned, would vpon the comming of those aydes from the King of *France*, being their Soueraigne, forsake him. This message is entartayned, a Parliament is called at *Lyons*, by King *Phillip* the Father of *Louys*, the businesse consulted, and resolued vpon. *Louys* besides the assurance made of his proffered election, relies vpon a title which hee claymes by his wife *Blanch*, daughter to the Sister of King *John*, and writes to the Barons that hee would shortly send them succour, and not be long behind to be with them in person.

The Pope writes to diuert *Louys* from the enterprise.—The intelligence of this designe is soone intimated to the Pope, who presently sends his Agent to the King of *France*, with letters to intreat him, not to suffer his sonne to inuade or disquiet the King of *England*, but to defend him, in regard he was a vassall of the Roman Church, and the Kingdome, by reason of Dominions, appertaining therenvnto. The King of *France* answeres, *That the Kingdome of England neuer was, nor is, or euer shall be the patrimony of St. Peter, and that King John was neuer lawfull King thereof; and if he were, he had forfeited the same by the murther of Arthur, for which he was condemned in his Court; neyther could he give away the Kingdome without the consent of the Barons who are bound to defend the same. And if the Pope would maintaine this error, it would be a pernicious example to all Kingdomes.*

Louys Lands in *Kent*, 21. of May.—Herewith the Popes Agent departs vnsatisfied: *Louys* hauing first dispatched Commissioners to *Rome* to declare his right and iustifie his vndertaking, sets forth from *Calice* with 600. ships, and 80. other vessell (*Quater Vigint. : Coggis*), and Lands with his Army at

Sandwich. King *John* attends him at *Douer*, with purpose to encounter him at his landing, but vpon notice of his great power, and distrusting the Faith of his mercinaries, hauing committed the keeping of the Castle of *Douer* to *Hubert de Burgh*, forsakes the field (and with it him/selfe) retyres first to *Winchester*, after to *Glocester*, and leaues all to the will of his enemy *Louys*: who after hee had obtayned the submission of all *Kent* (except the Castle of *Douer* which he neuer could get) he comes to *London*, where he is ioyfully receiued of the Barons, and vpon his Oath taken to restore their Lawes, and recouer their rights, hath homage and fealty done him, as the Soueraigne Lord: Thither came likewise the Earles *Warrein*, *Arundel*, *Salisbury*, *William Mareschall* the younger, with many other (forsaking King *John*) and rendred themselues vnto him.

The little effect the Popes excommunication wrought.—*Guallo* the Popes Agent (notwithstanding the sword was out in all the way of his passage) got to *Glocester*, shewes King *John* the Popes care of him, and in solemne manner pronounces the sentence of Excommunication against *Louys*, and all that tooke part with him: which though it brought him some comfort for the time, yet it tooke little or nothing from the enemy: neither could it so confirme his mercinaries, but that most of them left him, and eyther returned home into their Countries with such spoyles as they had, or betooke themselues to this new commer. King *John* was not yet so forsaken, but that he had power enough remayning, to infest, though not encounter his enemies, and Faith he found abroad amongst many of his Ministers that well-defended their charge. *Douer* Castle with a small Company holds out, against all the force that *Louys* could bring against it. *Windsor* Castle garded but with 60. men could not be won with all the power of the Barons; some other peeces, as *Nottingham* and *Lincolne* Castles made very resolute resistance. But nothing is effected, saue the ruine of the Country.

The death of King *John*.—The most-yeelding and fertill

parts of the Kingdome as about *Glocester*, the marches of *Wales*, *Lincolnshire*, *Cambridgshire*, *Norfolke*, *Suffolk*, *Essex*, *Kent*, and all about *London*, are the Stages of this Warre, and here they act their mischieves, which continued all that Summer; And about the latter end of October, a burning Feuer makes an end of this fiery King, which tooke him vpon an extream grieve conceiued for the losse of his carriages sunke in the Sands, passing the *Washes* betweene *Lin* and *Boston*; and was augmented by a surfeit of Peaches and new Ale, taken at the Abbey of Swineshead, from whence in great weaknes he is conueyed to *Newarke*, where, after he had receiued the Eucharist, and taken order for the succession of his sonne *Henry*, hee departes this life, hauing raigned 18. yeares, fие monthes, and foure dayes.

The Abbot of *Crockeston*, a man skilfull in Physicke, and at that time the Kings Physition disbowelled his body, who, no doubt would haue giuen notice, to the World had his Maister (as it was in after ages vainely bruted) beene poysoned by a Monke of Swinshead Abbay, but the Writers of those times report no such matter. (*Mat. Par.*) Howsoever his Death takes not away the reproach of his life, nor the infamy that followes him, whereunto ill Princes are as subiect as their euill Subiects, and cannot escape the brute of a clamorous Pen, witnesse this Disticque.

*Anglia sicut adhuc sordet fætore Iohannis,
Sordida fædatur fædante Iohanne Gehenna.*

His issue.—Hee had issue by his wife *Isabel* (daughter to *Aymer Earle of Angolesme*) two sonnes *Henry* and *Richard*: also three daughters *Ioan*, *Elioner*, and *Isabell*.

Henry succeeded him in his Kingdome: *Richard* was Earle of *Cornewall*, and Crowned King of the *Romans*, and had issue *Henry* and *John* that dyed without issue, also *Edward* Earle of *Cornewall* and others.

Ioan the eldest Daughter (marryed to *Alexander* the second, King of *Scots*) dyed without issue. (*John Speede.*)

Elioner the second daughter (marryed to *Simon Earle of Leicester*) had issue *Henry, Simon, Almaricke, Guy, Richard,* and *Elioner*. *Henry* slaine without issue. *Simon Earle of Bigorre*, and Ancestor to a Family of the *Mountfords* in *France*. *Almarick* first a Priest, after a Knight. *Guy Earle of Angleria*, in *Italy*, and Progenitor of the *Mountfords* in *Tuscaine*; and of the Earles of the *Campo Bacchi* in the Kingdome of *Naples*. *Richard* remayning priuily in *England*, and changing his name from *Mountford*, to *Wellesborne*, was Ancestor of the *Wellesbornes* in *England*. *Elioner* borne in *England*, brought vp in *France*, married into *Wales* to Prince *Lewin ap Griffith.* /

Isabell their youngest daughter (marryed to the Emperor *Fredricke the second*) had issue, *Henry* appointed to be King of *Sicile*, and *Margaret* wife of *Albert, Landgraue Thurine*. She dyed in child-bed after she had beene Empresse six yeares.

He had also two naturall sonnes. *Geffery Fitz Roy*, that transported souldiers into *France*, when *Hubert* forbad his Father to go thither: *Richard*, (that married the daughter and Heire of *Fulbert de Douer* (who built *Childham Castle*) had issue by her, of which some Families of good esteeme are descended. Likewise one naturall Daughter *Ioan* married to *Lewin Prince of Wales*.

The end of the Life, and Reigne of King Iohn.

The Life, and Reigne, of Henry the third.

1216. Anno Reg. 1. *Henry the third Crowned at Gloucester.*



HE Death of King *Iohn*, though it much altered, yet it ended not the miserable businesses of the Kingdome: For *Louys*, notwithstanding held his hopes, and his party though much shaken by the suddaine Coronation of *Henry*, eldest sonne to King *Iohn*,

solemnized in a great Assembly of State at *Glocester* the 28. of *October*, and committed to the tutelage of the great Marshall, *William Earle of Pembroke*, the maine Pillar of the Father, and now the preseruer of the Crowne to his sonne; a man eminent both in courage and Councell, who with *Guallo* the Popes Legate, the Bishops of *Winchester*, *Bathe*, and *Worcester* worke all meanes to draw the Barons, and as many of power as they could to their new and naturall King from this Excommunicate stranger, and his adherents. And bred great fluctuation in the mindes of most of them, doubtfull what to resolute vpon, in regard of the tender youth of *Henry*, and their Oath made to *Louys*.

The Confession of the Viscount *Melun* at his death.—But such was the insolence of the French, making spoile and prey of whatsoeuer they could fasten on (and now inuented by *Louys*, contrary to his Oath, in all those places of importance they had recovered) as made many of the English to relinquish their sworne fidelity, and forsake his part. Which more of them would haue done, but for the shame of inconstancy, and the danger of their pledges, remayning in *France*, which were great tyes vpon them. Besides, the popular bruit generally divulged concerning the confession of the Viscount *Melun* a French-man, who, lying at the point of death, toucht with compunction, is said to reueale the intention, and vowe of *Louys* (which was vtterly to extinguish the English Nation, whom he held vile, and neuer to be trusted, hauing forsaken their owne Soueraigne Lord) wrought a great auersion in the hearts of the English, which whether it were indeede vttered, or giuen out of purpose, it was so to be expected, according to the precedents of all in-brought Forryners vpon the deuisions of a distracted people.

Diuers Lords reuolt from *Louys*.—And first *William Earle of Salisbury*, mooued in blood to succour his Nephew, tooke away a maine peece from the side of *Louys*, and with him the Earles of *Arundel*, *Warren*, *William*, sonne and heire to the

great Marshall, returne to the fidelity of *Henry*, after sixe months they had reuolted to the seruice of *Louys*, which now may be thought was done but to temporise, and try the hazard of a doubtfull game, otherwise a brother would not have forsaken a brother, nor so Noble a Father and sonne haue diuided their starres. Notwithstanding *Louys* found hands enough to hold *London*, with all the Countries about it a whole yeare after, so that the young King was constrained to remaine about *Glocester*, *Worcester*, and *Bristow*, where his wakefull Ministers fayle not to implore all meanes to gather vpon whatsoeuer aduantages could be espied, and at length so wrought as they draw the enemy from the head of the Kingdome downe into the body, first into *Leicester-shire* to relieue the Castle of *Montsorel*—a peece appertaining to *Saer de Quincy* Earle of *Winchester*, a great partisan of *Louys*,—and after by degrees to *Lincolne*, where a Noble Lady, called *Phillippa* (but of what Family, time hath iniuriously bereft vs the knowledge) had, with more then Feminine courage defended the Castle, the space of a whole yeare, against *Gilbert de Gant*, and the French forces, which were possest of the Towne.

The forces of *Louys* ouerthrowne.—The Earle Marshall Protector of the King and Kingdome, with his sonne *William*: the Bishops of *Winchester*, *Salisbury* and *Chester*, the Earles of *Salisbury*, *Ferrers*, and *Albermarle*, *William de Albinet*, *John Marshall*, *William de Cantelupe*, *Falcasius*, *Thomas Basset*, *Robert Veypont*, *Brent de Liste*, *Geffery Lucy*, *Phillip de Albinet*, and many other Barons, and Marshall men, being with all the power of the young King (whose forces as he marched, grew daily greater) come to a place called *Stow* within eight miles of *Lincoln*, the Legate *Guallo* (to adde courage and resolution to the Army) caused vpon confession of their sins, the Eucharist to be ministred, and giues them a plenary absolution, solemnly accursing *Louys* with all his adherents, as seperated from the vnity of the Church, which dœ, they set foorth, and with such violence assayle the City

on all sides, as the defendants (after the Earle of *Perch*, valiantly fighting, was slayne) were soone defeated, and all the Principall men taken Prisoners, whereof these are nominated : *Saer Earle of Winchester, Henry de Bohun, Earle of Hereford, Gilbert de Gant, lately made Earle of Lincolne by Louys, Robert FitzWalter, Richard Monfichet, William Mowbray, William Beauchamp, William Maudit, Oliver Harcourt, Roger de Cressy, William de Coleuile, William de Ros, Robert de Ropsley, Ralph Chanduit* Barons, besides 400. Knights or men at Armes with their seruants, horse and Foot. The number and quality of the persons taken, shew the importance of the place, and the greatnessse of the Victory ; which gaue *Louys* his maine blow, and was the last of his battailes in *England*.

The spoyle of *Lincolne*. The peace was concluded the 11. of Sep. 1218. *Anno Reg. 3.*—The spoyles were very great beeing of a City, at that time rich in Merchandize, whereupon the winners (in derision) tearmed it *Louys his Faire*. Many of those who escaped, and fled from this ouerthrow ; were slayne by the Country people in their disorderly passing towards *London*, vnto *Louys*, who vpon notice of this great defeat sends presently ouer for succours into *France*, and drawes all the power hee had in *England*, to the City of *London* ; whether the Earle Marshall with the young King bend their course, with purpose eyther to assayle *Louys* vpon this Fresh dismay of his losse, and the distraction of his partakers, or induce him by agreement to relinquish the Kingdome. The first beeing found difficult, the last is propounded, whereunto *Louys* would not be brought to yeelde, vntill hearing how his succors comming out of *France*, were by *Phillip de Albeny*, and *Hubert de Burgh*, with the Forces of the *Cinke-ports*, all vanquished at sea ; hee then hopelesse of any longer subsisting with safety, condiscends to an accord : takes fifteene thousand Markes for his Voyage ; abiures his clayme to the Kingdome : promises by Oath to worke his Father, as farre as in him lay, for the restitution of such

Prouinces in *France*, as appertayned to this Crowne ; and that when himselfe should be King, to resigne them in peaceable manner.

On the other part King *Henry* takes his Oath, and for him, the Legate, and the Protector, to restore vnto the Barons of this Realme, and other his subiects, all their rights and heritages, with those liberties for which the discord beganne betweene the late King and his people. Generall pardon is granted, and all prisoners freed on both sides : *Louys* is honorably attended to *Douer*, and departs out of *England* about *Michaelmas* : aboue two yeares after his first arriuall, hauing beene here, in the greatest part, receiued King, and was more likely to haue established himselfe, and made a Conquest of this Kingdome (being thus pulled in by others armes) then the Norman that made way with his owne, had not the All-disposer otherwise diuerted it.

Such effects wrought the violence of an vnruleyn King, and the desperation of an oppressed people, which now notwithstanding the Fathers iniquity, most willingly imbrace the sonne, as naturally inclined to loue, and obey their Princes.

1219. Anno Reg. 4.—And in this recoverie, the industry of *Guallo* the Legate wrought much, though what he did therein was for his owne ends, and the pretended interest of the Pope, whose ambition had beeene first an especiall cause of this great combustion in the Kingdome, *but as they who worke the greatest mischiefs, are oftentimes the men that can best repaire them*, so was it in this, and therefore the lesse worthy of thankes. The Legat was well payed for his paines, and notwithstanding the great distresse of the Kingdome carries away twelue thousand Markes with him to *Rome*.

But thus the long-afflicted State beganne to haue some peace, and yet with many / distempratures at the first, ere those virulent humours which the Warre had bred were otherwise diuerted. For many of the Nobles who had taken part with the King, eyther vnsatisfied in their expectations, or

knowing not how to maintayne themselues and theirs, but by rapine; fall to mutiny, surprizing of Castles, and making spoyles in the Country, as the Earle of *Albemarle*, *Robert de Veypont*, *Foulke de Brent*, *Brian de Lisle*, *Hugh de Baillioll*, with many other, but at length, they are likewise appeased. And seeing the Warre must nurse, whom it had bred, an action is vndertaken for the Holy Land, whether *Ralph Earle of Chester*, *Saer de Quincy Earle of Winchester*, *William de Albeny Earle of Arundel*, *Robert Fitz Walter*, *William de Harcourt*, with many other, are sent with great Forces: besides to vnburthen the Kingdome, all strangers, vnlesse such as came with Merchandize, are commanded to auoyde the Land, and all meanes vsed for the regaining the ability it had lost.

The death of the Protector Earle Marshal.—And no sooner had this prouident Protector the Earle of *Pembroke* setled the Kings affaires, but hee dies, to the great regrate of the Kingdome; leauing behind him a most Noble memory of his actiue worth, and is to bee numbred amongst the examples of the best of men, to shew how much the Wisedome and Valour of a Potent Subiect may steade a distracted State in time of danger.

The King againe crowned. i Parliament.—The Bishop of *Winchester* (imparting the charge with many other great Councillors) is made Protector of the young King, who in *Anno Reg. 4* is againe crowned, and the next yeare after, hath by Parliament granted for the Escuage two markes of siluer of euery Knights Fee, for the affaires of the Kingdome, and recouery of his transmarine Dominions, which now is designed, and *Malleon de Sauers* the *Poitouine* with *William Longsword Earle of Salisbury* sent ouer into *Guien* to try the affections of that people, whom they finde, for the most part inclinable to the obedience of this Crowne. The King of *France* is required to make restitution of what hee had vsurped, but returnes answere; *That what hee had gotten both by forfeiture, and Law of Armes, hee would holde.*

i 1220, *Anno Reg. 5*; i 1221, *Anno Reg. 6*.—To retayne

amity with *Scotland*, and peace at home, *Ioan*, the Kings sister is giuen in marriage to *Alexander King of Scots*, and *Margaret*, sister to the same King, to *Hubert de Burgh*, now made Iusticiar of *England*, and the especiall man who guided the greatest affaires of the Kingdome. *Wales*, reuolting vnder their Prince *Lewelin*, gaue occasion of great charge and trouble to this State, in the beginning of this Kings Raigne, and long after, till it was wholly subdued. And a commotion in *Ireland*, made by *Hugh Lacy*, is appeased by *William Earle of Pembroke*, sonne to the late great Marshall, and some few yeares after hath the Kingdome a kinde of quietnesse, sauing that *Falcasius* (or *Foulke de Brent*) with certayne Chatelains (the dregs of War) fortifying the Castle of *Bedford*, with some other peeces of strength, and committing many outrages, gaue occasion of businesse till they were gotten by hard assault.

1222. Anno Reg. 7. 2 Parliament. Resumptions.—But now, the King being come to some yeares of vnderstanding, was, in a Parliament holden at *London*, put in minde by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, (in behalfe of the State) of his Oath made, and taken by others for him, vpon the peace which *Louys* for confirmation of liberties of the Kingdome for which the Warre began with his father, and being the maine base whereon his owne good, and that of his people must subsist, without which the whole State would againe fall asunder ; they would haue him to know it betime, to auoide those miserable inconueniences, which the disvnon of Rule and Obedience might bring vpon them all, which though it were impiously there oppugned (as Princes shall euer finde mouthes, to expresse their pleasures in what course soever they take) by some Ministers of his (amongst whom one *William Brewer* a Councillor is named) who vrged it to haue beene an Acte of constraint, and therefore not to be performed ; was notwithstanding promised at that time by the King to bee ratified, and twelue Knights, or other Legall men of euery Shiere, by Writs charged to examine what were the Lawes and liberties

which the Kingdome enioyed vnder his Grandfather, and returne the same by a certaine day, and so by that vsuall shift of Prolongation, the businesse was put off for that time, to the greater vexation of that following. For during all his Raigne of sixe and fifty yeares (the longest of any King of *England*) this put / him to the greatest imbroylement, made him ill beloued of his people (euer crost in his intendements) and far a lesse King, only by striuing to be more then he was: the iust reward of violations. And euen this first pause, vpon the lawfull requisition thereof, turned the blood, and shewed how sensible the state was, in the least stoppage of that tender vaine: For, presently the Earles of *Chester* and *Albimarle* with many other great men assemble at *Leicester* with intent to remoue from the king *Hugh de Burgh* chife Iusticiar and other officers supposed to hinder this motion. But the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* by his spirituall power, and the rest of the Nobility, more carefull to preserue the peace of the Kingdome, stood to the King, and would not suffer any proceeding in this kind, so as the Lords effected nothing at that time, but were constrained to come in, and submit themselues. And here the King by Parliament resumes such alienations as had bin made by his Ancestors, of what had appertained to the Crowne, whereby hee might haue the more meanes of his owne without pressing his subject; but this serued not his turne.

1223. *Anno Reg. 8. 3 Parliament*.—The next yeare after another Parliament is held at Westminster, wherein is required the fiftieth part of all mooueables both of the Clergy and Layety, for the recovery of those parts in *France* withheld from this Crowne by *Louys* now King, contrary to his oath and promise made here in *England* at his departure. Which motion, though it concerned the honour and dignity of his Kingdome, (beeing the inheritance of the King,) and the estates of most of the Nobility, and other the subiects, who had Lands and possessions in those parts, which no doubt,

they desired to recouer with their vtmost means ; yet would they not yeeld to the grant of this Subsidy, but vpon confirmation of their liberties ; which in the end they obtayned, in the same words and forme as King *John* had granted them in the two Charters before.

Disforestatons.—And twelue Knights, or Legall men are chosen in euery shiere, vpon their Oath, to disparte the olde Forrests from the new : And all such as were found to haue beene inforrested since the first Coronation of *Henry* the second to bee disafforrested, and disposed at their pleasure, who were to possesse them. Whereupon they were layd open, plowed and improoued to the exceeding comfort, and benefit of the subiect ; whereby men, insteade of wilde beasts, were sustayned, and more roome made for them to vse their industry.

1225. *Anno Reg. 10. 4. Parliament.* The reuoking the Charter of forrests which bred a new insurrection.—Two yeares with great quietnesse, and generall content (the blessing of a State,) these liberties were enioyed, when the King at a Parliament at *Oxford*, declaring himselfe to be of lawfull age, and free from custody, to dispose of the Affaires of the Kingdome ; cancels and anuls the Charter of Forrests, as granted in his Nonage, hauing no power of himselfe, or of his Seale, and therefore of no validity : And causes Proclamation to be made, that both the Clergy, and all others, if they would enioy those liberties, should renew their Charters, and haue them confirmed vnder his new Seale : For which, they were constrainyd to pay, not according to their ability, but the will of the chiefe Iusticiar, *Hugh de Burgh*, to whom is layd the blame of this mischiefe, which procured him the generall hatred of the Kingdome ; and bred a new insurrection of the Nobility, who, taking aduantage vpon a breach lately falne out, betweene the King and his brother *Richard Earle of Cornwall* (about the Castle of *Barkhamsted* appertayning to that Earledome, which the King had committed to the keeping of

one *Walleran* a Dutchman) ioyned with the Earle, and put themselues in Armes. For the King maintayning the cause of *Walleran*, commands his brother to render the Castle which hee had taken from him; or else to depart the Kingdome.

The Earle answers that he would neither do the one or the other: without the iudgment of his Peeres; and so departs to his lodging, leauing the King much displeased with this answere. The chief Iusticiar fearing the disturbance of the peace, aduises the King suddainly to apprehend the Earle, and commit him to close custody, but the Earle eyther through notice, or doubt thereof, flies presently to *Marleborough*, where he finds *William Earle Mareshall*, his friend, and confederate by Oath, with whom hee hastes to *Stamford*, and there meets with the Earles of *Chester*, *Glocester*, *Waren*, *Hereford*, *Ferrers*, *Warwicke*, with diuers Barons, and men at armes: From whence they send to the King, aduising him to right the iniury done to his brother. The cause heereof, they impute / to *Hugh de Burgh*, and not to himselfe: besides they require restitution to bee made without delay, of the liberties of the Forrests lately cancelled at *Oxford*, otherwise they would compell him thereunto by the sword.

1226. Anno Reg. 11. 5. Parliament.—The King, to auoyde this danger, appoyns them a day to come to an Assembly at *Northampton*, where a concord is concluded; and to satisfie his brother, (besides the rendring vnto him his Castle) hee grants him all that his mother had in Dowre, and whatsoeuer Land the Earle of *Britagne* helde in *England*, with those of the Earle of *Bologne* lately deceased; and so the Parliament brake vp. After this the generall motion for the holy Wars intertaines some time. Which so strongly wrought in that credulous world as sixty thousand sufficient men, are reported to haue vndertaken that Voyage: of whom *Peter Bishop of Winchester*, and *William Bishop of Excester* are the Leaders.

1227. Anno Reg. 12.—The King is solicited by *Hugh le*

Brun Earle of March, who had married his Mother, and by other great men of *Normandy*, to come ouer into *France* to recouer his right, vpon the great alterations hapning in those parts by this occasion.

French History.—*Louys* the eight (who succeeded *Phillip* the second) being lately dead, after his great siege of *Auignon*, and his Warres made against the Heretickes *Albegeois* in *Prouince*, leaues the Kingdome to his sonne *Louys* of the age of twelue yeares; in whose minority his Mother *Blanch*, taking vpon her the Regency, so discontented the Princes of the blood, as they oppose themselues against her, holding it both dishonourable and dangerous, that a woman and a stranger by the Councell of *Spaniards* (whom shee aduanced aboue the Naturals of the Kingdome) should gouerne all according to her pleasure, and therefore enter league against her. The chiefe of whom were *Phillip* Earle of *Bologne*, Vnkle by the Father, to the King: *Robert* Earle of *Champaigne*, *Peter de Dreux* Duke of *Britagne*, and *Robert* Earle of *Dreux* his brother, and with these *Hugh* the Earle of *March* takes part, in regard the Queene regent had erected the Country of *Poictou* to a County, and made Earle therof *Alphonso* her sonne, brother to the yong King, whereby finding himselfe inclosed within that County, hee refuses to acknowledge *Alphonso* for Lord: instigated thereunto by his wife, a Queene Dowager of *England*, who could not comport a superior so neere her doore, in so much as they likewise draw in the Earle of *Lusignan*, brother to the Earle of *March*, who also, presuming vpon the greatness of his house discended of Kings, was apt to take their part; and these with the Earle of *Britagne* call in the King of *England*. Who after he had exacted great summes of the Clergie of the City of *London*, for redemption of their liberties, and taken the third part of all the goods of the Iewes, passes ouer with an Army, lands at *St. Mallos*, is met by many Nobles of *Poictou*, who with the Earle of *Britagne* doe homage vnto him, and great preparations are

made to recouer such peeces as had beeene obtayned by the late King of *France*.

The Queene Regent sets out a powerfull Army to stop the proceeding of the King of *England*, and much mischiefe is wrought on both sides in *Poictou*, *Xaintongs*, *Augoumois*, where their Friends and enemies suffer all alike. At length, seeing no great good to arise by their trauaile, both weary of the businesse, either a peace, or truce concluded.

The King of *England* besides an infinite expence of Treasure, hauing lost diuers of his Nobles and other Valiant men in the iourney, without any glorie, returnes home, bringing with him the Earle of *Britagne* and many *Poictouins* to receiue their promised reward; which, notwithstanding all the Former expence must be wrung out of the substance of the poore subiect of *England*.

The King calls his Officers to accompt. 1228. *Anno Reg. 13.* —Vpon his returne, hee entertaynes a purpose of marriage with a sister of the King of *Scots*, against which the Earles and Barons of *England* generally oppose; alleadging it to be vnfitt that hee should haue the yonger Sister, when *Hubert* his chiefe Iusticiar, had married the eldest; and the Earle of *Britagne*, by whose Councell he was now much directed, dissuades him likewise from it. To this Earle (after supplies obtayned towards his expences, and debts in *France*) hee giues fие thousand markes, as if remayning of the summe hee had promised. And for the rest of the *Poictouins*, their preferments and rewards were to be had by the displacing and spoyles of his Officers, Receiuour, and others whom now hee calles to accounte, and castes for defrauding him in / their Offices, of whom *Ralph Breton* Treasurer of his Chamber is first, who was committed to prison and grieuously fined: Then *Hubert de Burgh* his Chiefe Iusticiar, (a man who had long ruled all vnder him, in a place euer obnoxious to detraction and enuy) is called to account for such Treasure as passed his Office (which was then for all relieves, and Subsidies whatsoeuer

raised on the subiect) and notwithstanding hee had the Kings Charter for it during life, yet is he thrust out of his Office, and besides accused of haynous crimes of Treason.

The King remoues his Officers.—No sooner was this great Officer, and inward Councillour falne into the Kings displeasure, but presently a whole volly of accusations (which feare in time of fauour held in) were discharged vpon him, and euery act of his examined, and vrged according to the passion of the complainers. The City of *London* layes to his charge the execution of their Citizen *Constantine* (in the time of a ryot committed betweene their people and those of *Westminster* at a wrastling in Saint *James* fields. *Anno Reg. 4.*) as done without Warrant and Law, and craue Justice for his blood. *Hubert*, to auoide this suddain storme comming vpon him, fled to the Church of *Merton* for Sanctuarie, whence, by armed men sent to pursue him, hee is drawne out by force, and committed to prison. Of which violence done contrary to the priuiledge of that sacred place, the Bishop of *London*, in whose Dioses it was, complaynes, and so wrought that he is brought back againe to the same Chappel. But yet all that could not shelter him from the Kings wrath, who giues strict commandement to the Shriefes of *Hartford* and *Sussex*, to set a guard about the place, that no sustenance be brought him. Hunger inforces him to commit himselfe to the Kings mercy, and away hee is sent prisoner to the *Vize*, his money left in the custody of the Templars, is brought forth, and seazed into the Kings hands ; clayming that, and much more as stolne out of his Exchequer. *Stephen de Segraue* is put into his Office, a worse minister for the Common-wealth (which seldome gaynes by such shiftings) and who must shortly runne the same Fortune. *Walter* Bishop of *Carlisle* is likewise thrust out of his office of Treasurer, and *William Rodon* Knight of his place of Marshall of the Kings House, and all the chiefe Councillours, Bishops, Earles and Barons of the Kingdome, are remoued as distrusted, and onely strangers

preferred to their roomes. *Peter*, Bishop of *Winchester*, lately returned from the Holy Warres, to bee the Authour of most vnholie discord at home, is charged to be the cause hereof, and with him one *Peter de Rualis*, now the special minion about the King.

The Lords combine for the publike defence against the King.—These straynes of so strange and insufferable violences so exasperate the Nobility, as many (whereof *Richard*, now Earle Marshall, vpon the death of his brother *William* was chiefe) do combine themselues for defence of the publike, and boldly doe shewe the King *his error, and ill-advised course, preferring strangers about him, to the disgrace and oppression of his naturall liege people, contrary to their Lawes and liberties, and that vnlesse hee would reforme this excesse, whereby his Crowne and Kingdome was in eminent danger, hee and the rest of the Nobility would withdraw themselues from his Councell,* whereunto the Bishop of *Winchester* replies: *that it was lawfull for the King to call what strangers hee listed about him, for defence of his Crowne and Kingdome, thereby to compell his proud and rebellious subiects to their due obedience.* With which answer the Earle and the rest, depart with more indignation: vowed that in this cause, which concerned them all, they would spend their liues.

The Lords refuse to come to Parliament vpon summons.—Hereupon the King suddainly sends ouer for whole legions of *Poictouins*, and withall summons a Parliament at *Oxford*; whether the Lords refuse to come, both in regard they found themselues despised, and holding it not safe by reason of those multitudes of strangers. Then was it decreed by the Kings Councell that they should be the second and third time summoned, to try whether they would come or not. And here, from the Pulpit, whence the Voyce of God to the people is vttered, the King is boldly shewed the way to redresse this mischiefe of the Kingdome, by one *Robert Bacon* a Fryer Predicant; but more Comically by *Roger Bacon*, (in pleasant

discourse) asking the King: *My Lord, what is most nocent to Sea-men, and what feare they most,* the King replyes: Sea-men know that best themselues; then, my Lord I will tell you: *Petra & Rupes,* alluding to *Petrus de Rupibus* Bishop of *Winchester.*

1232. *Anno Reg. 17.* 6. Parliament.—After this, the Lords were summoned to a Parliament at *Westminster*: Whether likewise they refused to come, vnlesse the King would remoue the Bishop of *Winchester*, and the *Poictouins* from the Court: otherwise, by the Common-Councell of the Kingdome they send him expresse word, they would expell him, and his euill Counsellors out of the Land, and deale for the Creation of a new King.

Vpon this threatning, pledges are required of the Nobility to bee deliuered by a certaine day, for security of their allegiance. But no act passed in this Parliament though diuers Lords came thither, as the Earles of *Cornwal, Chester, Lincolne, Ferrers* and others. In regard the Earle *Mareschall*, the Lord *Gilbert Basset*, and other Nobles were not present. Then were Writs sent out to all who held by Knights seruice, to repaire to the King at *Glocester* by a certaine day: which the Earles *Mareschall* and his associates refusing, the King without the iudgement of his Court and their Peeres, cause to bee proclaimed Outlawes, seizes vpon all their Lands, which he giues to his *Poictouins*, and directs out Writs to attach their bodies wheresoeuer in the Kingdome.

The Bishop of *Winchester* to weaken the party of the *Mareschall*, wonne the Earles of *Chester* and *Lincolne* with a thousand markes, and the King had so pleased his brother the Earle of *Cornwall*, as he likewise left them. Whereupon they withdraw them into *Wales*, and confederate with *Lewelin* and other great men in that Country, (whither also came *Hubert de Burgh* escaping out of the *Vize Castle*, and ioynes with them) taking their oath intermutually, that no one without other should make their accord.

The King with an army against the Lords.—The King goes himselfe in person with an Army, against those reuolted Lords, into *Wales*, where hee had the worst of the businesse, and much dishonour, returnes to *Glocester*, employes new forces of strangers, but all without successe. Whereupon a Fryer of the Order of Minors is employed to conferre with the Earle *Mareschall*, and to perswade him to come in, and submit himselfe to the Kings mercy, whom hee had heard to say, that notwithstanding his great offences, he would pardon, and restore to his estate vpon submission ; and besides giue him so much of *Hereford* shire, as should conueniently maintayne him. Besides the Fryer told him what he heard of other Counsellors about the King, concerning the wishing of his submission, and in what forme they desire it should be imparted in priuat. And then, as of himselfe, hee vses all inducements possible to draw him thereunto, shewing how it was his duty, his profit and safety so to doe. Wherewithall the Earle nothing mooued, told the Fryer what iniury he had receiued, and that hee could not trust the King, so long as hee had such Counsellors about him : who onely sought the destruction of him, and his associates, who euer had beene his loyall subiects. And after many obiections made by the Fryer with vrging the Kings power, his owne weaknesse and the danger hee was in : the Earle concludes that hee feared no danger : that hee would neuer yelde to the Kings will, that was guided by no reason : that he should giue an ill example to relinquish the iustice of his cause to obey that will which wrought all iniustice, whereby it might appeare, they loued worldly possessions more then right and honour, &c.

So nothing was done : the Warre continues with much effusion of blood ; all the borders of *Wales* vnto *Shrowesbury*, are miserable wasted, and made desolate. At length meanes is vsed to draw the Earle *Mareschall* ouer into *Ireland* to defend his state there, which was likewise seized vpon, by authority giuen vnder the Kings hand and Seale, and all those great

possessions descended vnto him from his Ancestor the Earle *Strongbow* (the first Conquerors of that Countrey) spoyled and taken from him. And heere, seeking to recouer his liuely-hood, hee lost his life, circumuented by treachery: his death gaue occasion of grieve, both to his friends and enemies. The King disauowes the sending of his Commission into *Ireland*, protesting hee neuer knew thereof, and discharges himselfe vpon his Counsellor. A poore shift of weake Princes.

1234. *Anno Reg. 19. 7. Parliament.*—After two yeares affliction, a Parliament is assembled at *Westminster*, wherein the Bishops grauelly admonish the King (by his Fathers example, and his owne experience, of the mischiefe of dissension betweene him and his Kingdome, occasioned through the ill Councell of his Ministers) to be at vnion with his people, to remooue from him strangers and others, by whose instigation, for their owne ends, these disturbances are fostered, / and his naturall Subiects estranged from him, to the great alienation of their affections, which was of dangerous consequence. Wherefore (after recitall of the grieuances of the State, and the abuses of his Ministers, which were such as all corrupted times produce) they humbly besought him to gouerne his, according to the example of other Kingdomes, by the natives of the same, and their Lawes: Otherwise they would proceede by Ecclesiasticall censure, both against his Counsellors, and himselfe.

The King seeing no way to subsist, and get to his ends, but by temporizing, consents to call home those Lords out of *Wales*, restores them to their places and possessions, amoues those strangers from about him, and cals his new Officers to account. The Bishop of *Winchester*, *Peter de Riuallis* and *Stephan Segraue* thereupon take Sanctuary, but afterward, vpon mediation they obtayned, with great fines, their Liberty, dearely paying for their two yeares eminency and grace.

Isabel the Kings sister married to the Emperor.—Things thus appeased, the King giues his sister *Isabel* in marriage to the Emperour *Fredericke* the second (successour to *Otho*,

and grand-child to *Frederick Barbarossa*): the Arch-bishop of *Cologne*, and the Duke of *Louaine* were sent for her. Shee is Conducted by the King her brother to *Sandwich* with three thousand horse. The marriage is solemnized at *Wormes*. Shee was the third wife of this Emperour, an alliance that yeelded neyther strength or benefit (though that were both their ends) to eyther Prince. The continuall broyle which this Emperour held with all the Popes of his time, (*Innocent* the third, *Honorius*, *Innocent* the fourth, *Gregory* the ninth) was such and so great as all hee could doe, was not enough for himselfe. For not to let goe that hold of the Empire hee had in *Italy*, with his hereditary Kingdomes of *Naples* and *Sicile* which the Popes wrought to draw to the Church, hee was put to be perpetually in Conflict, neuer free from vexations, thrust from his owne courses, enioyned to vndertake the Holy Warres, to waste him abroade, weakened at home by excommunications, and fines for absolutions; for which, at one time hee payde eleuen thousand Markes of Gold. And in the end the Popes so preuailed, that in the Graue of this *Fredericke* was buried the Imperiall Authority in *Italy*, after hee had thus Raigned foure and thirty yeares, leauing his sonne *Conrade* successor rather of his miseries, then his inheritance. Hee had a sonne by *Isabel* named *Henry*, to whom hee bequeathed the Kingdome of *Sicile*, and a hundred thousand ounces of Gold, but hee liued not to enioy it.

1236. *Anno Reg. 20.*—To the marriage of this sister, the King giues thirty thousand markes, besides an Imperiall Crowne and other Ornamentes of great Value: Towards which, is raysed two Markes vpon euery Hide Land. And the next yeare after, himselfe marries *Elioner* daughter to *Raymond Earle of Prouince*, a match in regard of the distance of the place, with the meanes and degree of estate, little aduantagious eyther to him, or his Kingdom, but the circumstance of alliance drew it on, with some other promises which were not obserued. So, that hee is neyther greater, nor richer by these alliances,

but rather lessened in his meanes, hauing no dowery with his wife, full of poore kindred, that must draw meanes from this Kingdome.

Shriefes remooued for corruption.—After the solemnization of this marriage (which was extraordinarily sumptuous) a Parliament is assembled at *London*, which the King would haue held in the Tower, whither the Lords refusing to come; another place, of more freedome, is appoynted: where, after many things propounded for the good of the Kingdome, order is taken that all Shriefes are remooued from their Offices vpon complaint of corruption; and others of more integrity, and abler meanes (to auoyde bribery) put in their roomes, taking their Oathes to receiue no gifts, but in victuals, and those without excesse.

Heere the King displaces his Steward, and some other Counsellors, and offers to take from the Bishop of *Chichester*, then Chancellour, the great Seale; but the Bishop refuses to deliuer it, alledging, how hee had it by the Common Councell of the Kingdome, and without assent of the same, would not resigne it; and hauing carryed himselfe irreprehensible in his Office, is much fauoured by the people. *Peter de Riuallis* and *Stephan Segraue*, are againe receiued into grace: An argument of the Kings leuity, and / irresolution, mooved, it seemes, with any Engine to doe and vndoe, and all out of time and order, wherein hee euer looses ground. And now faine would hee haue reuoked, by the Popes authority, some grants of his made heretofore, as beeing done beyond his power, and without the consent of the Church, which harsh intention addes more to the already conceiued displeasure of the people.

9 Parliament. 1237, *Anno Reg. 21.* Foure Knights of euery shiere ordayned to take charge of the subsidy.—*Anno Reg. 21.* Another Parliament, or the same adiourned is held at *London*, where, in regard of the great expence for his Sisters marriage, and his owne, hee requires the thirtieth part of all mooueables, as well of the Clergy as Layety. Whereunto

great opposition is made, and recitall of the many Leuies [that] had beeene exacted of the Kingdome, now of the twentith, now of the thirtith, and fortith parts: And that it was a thing vnworthy and iniurious, to permit a King, who was so lightly seduceable, and neuer did good to the Kingdome, either in expelling, or repressing enemie, or amplifying the bounds thereof, but rather lessening and subiugating the same to Strangers, that he should extort so many pretences, so great summes from his naturall people (as from slaues of the basest condition) to their detriment, and benefit of *Aliens*. Which when the King heard, desirous to stop this generall murmur, [he] promised by Oath that he would neuer more iniury the Nobles of the Kingdome, so that they would benignely relieue him at that present, with this supply: in regard he had exhausted his treasure, in the marriage of his sister, and his owne: whereunto they plainly answer, *that the same was done without their Counsell, neither ought they to be partakers of the punishment, who were free from the fault.* After foure daies consultation, the King promising to vse only the Counsel of his naturall subiects, disauowing and protesting against the reuocation lately propounded and freely granting the inuiolable obseruation of the Liberties, vnder paine of excommunication, hath yeelded vnto him the thirtieth part of all mooueables (reseruing yet to euery man his ready coyne, horse and armour to be imployed for the Commonwealth). For the collection of this subsidy, it was ordayned that foure Knights of euery Shiere, and one Clerke of the Kings should vpon their Oath receiue and deliuер the same, eyther vnto some Abbey or Castle, to bee reserued there; that if the King fayle in the performance of his Grants, it might be restored to the Countrey whence it was collected: with this condition often annexed, that the King should leaue the Counsell of *Aliens*, and onely vse that of his naturall Subiects. Wherein to make shew of his part, hee suddainly causes the Earles *Warren* and *Ferrers*, with *John Fitz Geffery* to bee sworne his Counsellors. And so the

Parliament ended, but not the businesse for which it was called, the King not giuing that satisfaction to his subiects as hee had promised concerning Strangers, and besides, that order concluded in Parliament was not obserued in the leauying and disposing of the subsidy, but stricter courses taken in the valewing of mens Estates, then was held conuenient. Moreouer *William Valentine* Vnkle to the young Queene, is growne onely the inward man with the King, and possesses him so, as nothing is done without his Councell: the Earle of *Prouince*, the father, a poore Prince, is inuited to come ouer to participate of this Treasure, which it seemes was disposed before it came in.

The comming of *Simon Monfort* to *England*. The grieuances of the kingdome. 1238. Anno Reg. 22. 10 Parliament.—*Simon de Monfort* a Frenchman borne (banished out of *France* by *Queene Blanch*) is entertained in *England*, and preferred secretly in marriage to *Elioner* the Kings Sister (widow of *William Earle of Pembroke* Great Marshall) and made Earle of *Leicester* by right of his mother *Amice* daughter to *Blanchman Earle of Leicester*. Which courses (with other) so incense the Nobility, and generally all the Subiects, as to put them out into a new commotion, and *Richard* the Kings brother (whose youth and ambition apt to be wrought vpon) is made the head thereof; who being as yet Heire-apparant of the Kingdom (the Queene being yong and childlesse), the preseruation of the good thereof is argued to concerne him, and hee is the man employed to the King, to impart the publike grieuances, and to reprehend, first the profusion of his Treasure (gotten by exaction from the subiect) and cast away vpon Strangers who onely guide him, then the infinite summes hee had raysed in his time: How there was no Arch-bishopricke, or Bishopricke, except *Yorke*, *Lincolne* and *Bathe*, but he had made benefit by their Vacancies: besides what fell by Abbayes, Earledomes, Baronies, Wardships and other Escheates, and yet his treasure, which should be / the

strength of the State, was nothing increased. Moreover, how he as if both despising his, and the Counsell of his naturall Subiects, was so obsequious to the will of the Romans, and especially of the Legat whom he had inconsiderately called in, as he seemed to adore his foot-steps, and would doe nothing eyther in publike or priuate, but by his consent, so that he seemed absolutely the Popes Feudary; which wounded the hearts of his people. The King vpon this harsh remonstrance of his brother, and the feare of a present commotion, after he had sounded the affections of the *Londoners*, whom he found resolued to take part against him, he againe (by the aduice of the Legat, who had earnestly dealt with the Earle of *Cornewal*, to reconcile himselfe to his brother, but without effect) calles a Parliament at *London*. Whether the Lords came Armed both for their owne safety, and to constraine the King (if he refused) to the obseruation of the premises, and reformation of his courses.

Here, after many debatements the King (taking his Oath) to referre the businesse to the order of certaine graue men of the Kingdome, Articles are drawne, sealed and publikely set vp to the view of all, with the seales of the Legat, and diuers great men. But before it came to effect, *Simon Monfort* working his peace with the Earle of *Cornewal*, and the Earle of *Lincolne* likewise (with whom hee and the State were displeased) the Earle grows cold in the businesse. The Lords perciuing the staffe of their strength to faile them, failed themselues, so that nothing is effected, and the miseries of the kingdome continue as they did.

1239. Anno Reg. 23. *Thomas of Sauoy* marrieth the inheretrix of the Earldom of *Flanders*, which he held but during her life.—Shortly after, the King takes displeasure against *Gilbert Earle of Pembroke* (the third sonne of *William the Great Marshall*) and caused his gates to bee shut against him at *Winchester*, whereupon the Earle retyres into the North. And to shew how inconstant this King was in his fauours,

Simon Norman (intituled Master of the Kings Seale, and not onely so, but sayd to be Master of the Kingdome ; yea of the King, the Rector and Disposer of Court) is throwne out with disgrace, the Seale taken from him, and giuen to the Abbot of *Euesham*. In like sort, his brother *Geffery* a Knight Templar is put out of the Councell, both of them much maligned by the Nobility : who had often before laboured their amoouement, as held to be corrupt Councillours, and Wranglers of the State, and now are they falne off themselues. But the cause of this their deiction may shew, that oftentimes Officers vnder weake Princes are not so much faulty, as the World hold them to be : for not yeelding to passe a Grant from the King, made vnto *Thomas Earle of Flanders* (the Queens Vnkle) of foure pence vpon euery sacke of Wooll (an enormous act then accounted) they both lost their places, though not their reputations in this ; their fall discouering what the Enuy that attended their Fortune, hindred men to see. To this Earle of *Flanders*, the next yeare after the King grants (notwithstanding) 300. Markes, to be payd out of his Exchequer annually, for his homage.

Edmund Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* giues ouer his Sea.— Now, besides the great exaction of the King, and his wastes, the Sea of *Rome* extorts huge Summes, as if one Gulph sufficed not to swallow vp the substance of the kingdome, which opened the mouthes of our Clergie so wide ; as they let out many exclamations against the auarice of the Popes of that time ; and the Romaine Factors, who by permission of the King, or by his negligence, presumed so farre vppon the easie-yeeldingnesse of the State, as they wrung out what they listed. In so much, as besides the Fleece, they would now haue the bodies of their possessions. And the Pope sends his Mandate to haue three hundred Romaines preferred to the benefices which should be first vacant in *England*, which so amazed the Clergy, and especially *Edmond* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, as hee, seeing no end of these Concussions of the State, and Liberties of the Church ; and himselfe (on whom the Scandall

of all must light, vnable by reason of the Kings remisenesse to withstand it, tyred with the vanity of worldly actions,) giues ouer all ; and betakes himselfe to a voluntary exile in the Abbey of *Pontiniac* in *France* ; and there applies him to the Contemplation of a better life. But before his departure, hee yeelds, as a ransome for his Church, eight hundred Markes to the Pope.

Pope *Gregory* the ninth.—The Clergy, although thus left by their head, generally oppose what they could against / the Popes rapine, who to get money for his wars with the Emperour vsed daily new and insolent pressures vpon them, in so much as they repaire to the King, declare how preiudicall and derogatory it was to his royalty, and the liberty of the Kingdome to suffer this proceeding, which none of his Predecessors heretofore euer did ; And of how dangerous consequence it was to his successors. The King, eyther not apprehensiue of the mischiefe, or content to ioyne with the Pope to punish and awe the Kingdome, not onely refers them to the Legat, but offers to deliuer the chiefe opposers vp vnto him. Whereupon they seeing themselues forsaken, and no power to succour them but their owne, did what they could to withstand the Legats proceeding, who now by the Kings animation, presumes more peremptorily to vrge them to supply the Popes present occasion, and holds a Conuocation at *London* for effecting the same. Wherein the Clergy declare how this contribution now required by the Pope for the destruction of the Emperour, and effusion of Christian blood was vnlawfull, hee beeing not an Hereticke, nor condemned by the iudgment of the Church although excommunicated : That it was against the Liberties of the Church of *England*, beeing required vnder paine of Ecclesiasticall censure, as a thing of seruitude and Compulsion : That they had heretofore giuen a Tenth to the Pope, on condition, that neuer any such exaction should againe bee made, least it might be drawne to a Custome, forasmuch as *Binus actus inducat consuetudinem* : (*Codide Episcopal. L. Nemo.*)

That for their businesse in the Court of *Rome*, they were to passe through the Emperours Countries, and the danger they might haue thereby: That it was not safe for the Kingdome to impouerish the King, who had many enemies, against whom hee must haue to sustayne Warre: And besides, how for the furnishing of diuers Noble men, vndertaking of late the businesse of the Crosse, great contributions had beene made: That the Church of *England* was poore, and hardly able to sustayne it selfe. That a generall contribution was to bee made by a generall Councell, &c.

Notwithstanding these reasons, though at first they staggered the Legate, yet such course was taken by winning some of them, vpon hope of preferment, as the rest could not without the note of contumacy but yeeld perforce, so, by this treason of deuision, the body of the Councell is entred into, and the Pope preuailes in this businesse.

Edward eldest sonne to King *Henry*. *Richard* Earle of *Cornewall* vndertakes the Crosse. 1241. Anno Reg. 25.—The King hath now a sonne lately borne, and *Richard* his brother Earle of *Cornewall* hauing likewise issue (by permission of the State which heretofore hee could not obtaine) vndertakes the Crosse, and with him his Vnkle *William Longsword* Earle of *Salisbury*, and many other Noblemen. These departing out of *England*, *Peter of Sauoy*, another Vnkle to the Queene, comes in, and hath the Earledome of *Richmond* bestowed on him, with many other gifts: he is knighted and feasted sumptuously, for which the poore Iews by way of redemption, pay 20000 Markes at two terms of that yeare. *Boniface* the sonne of *Peter of Sauoy*, Nephew to the Queene is preferred to the Arch-bishopricke of *Canterbury*. After this the King makes an expedition into *Wales*, which had often put him to great charge and trouble, hauing beene very vnfortunate, in his many attempts against *Lewellin*, intituled Prince or King of *North-Wales*; who being lately dead, had left his two sonnes *Dauid* and *Griffin*, by division of State to bee at discord

betweene themselues ; whereby he came to make an easier end of that businesse, and now onely but with the shew of his power, got that which, heretofore, hee could not with much blood : hath submission, and fealty rendred vnto him by *David*, with all his charges for that iourney. But now this ended, another attempt of great expence, but lesse benefit is in hand.

11 Parliament.—The Earle of *March* with his Wife, the Queene-Mother, and many other great Lords of *Poitou*, so worke by their earnest solicitation, with assurance of successe, as the King is induced to vndertake another expedition in *France*. The matter is mooued in Parliament, generall opposition made against it, the great expence, and the ill it last brought to the Kingdome, vehemently vrged, *How it was unlawfull to breake the truce made with the King of France, who was now to strong for them to doe any good, &c.*

A repetition of the Kings supplies formerly made. The King carries ouer thirty barrels of siluer into *France*.—Notwithstanding many of the greatest Peeres, drawne by faire promises, and their owne / hopes for recovery of their Estates so preuayle, as the action is resolued on, and an Ayde demaunded for the same. The very motion for money was so distastefull, as presently all the Kings supplies made from the beginning of his Raigne, are particularly againe, and opprobriously rehearsed, as the 13. 15. 16. and 40. parts of all mens moueables, besides Carucage, Hydage, Escuage, Escheates, Amercements, and such like, which could not but fill his Coffers. Then the Popes continual exactions, with the infinite charge for those who vndertooke the Holy Warre, are likewise repeated. Besides they declared, how the 30. leuyed about foure yeares past (in regard it was to bee layd vp in certayne Castles, and not to bee issued but by the allowance of foure of the Peeres) was, as they held it yet vnspent : The King, to their knowledge, hauing had no necessary occasion to employ the same, for the use of the Commonwealth, for which it was granted, and therefore resolutely they denied to yeeld him any

more. Whereupon the King comes himselfe to the Parliament, and in most submissive manner craues their ayde at this time, vrging the Popes letter, which hee had procured to sollicite and perswade them thereunto. But all preuailed not, their vow made to each other not to disseuer their voyces, or to bee drawne to a disvniou held them fast together. Insomuch as the King is driuen to get what he could of particular men, eyther by gift or loane, and vses such meanes, as notwithstanding, he carries ouer with him thirty Barrels of sterlinc coyne, and taking with him his Queene, leaues the gouernment of the Kingdome to the Arch-bishop of *Yorke*, hauing first, for his better quiet at home, contracted a match betweene his daughter *Margaret* (yet an infant) and *Alexander* eldest sonne to *Alexander* the third King of *Scots*, to whom hee commits the gouernement of the Marches.

The Kings second expedition into *France*. An imposition of escuage with another redemption of the Iewes. The Countesse of *Prouince*, mother to the Queene, comes ouer into *England* to the great charge of the Kingdome.—The second expedition into *France* had no better successe then the first. For therein he likewise consumed his Treasure vpon strangers, discontented the English Nobility, was deceiued in his trust by the *Poictouins*, who failed him with his money, and after more then a whole yeares stay (the Lords of *England* leauing him) was driuen to make a dishonourable truce with the King of *France*. And after hauing beene relieved with much prouision out of *England*, and other imposition of Escuage, hee returnes, puts the Iewes to another redemption: exacts of the *Londoners*; is visited by his wiues mother, the Countesse of *Prouince*, who, bringing with her *Zanchia* her daughter, is (to adde to his other expences) sumptuously feasted, and a marriage solemnized betweene the young Lady and *Richard Earle of Cornwall*, whose wife was late dead, and hee returned from the Holy Warres.

The old Countesse at her retурne is presented with many

rich gifts, hauing besides, receiued an annuall pension of 4000. Markes out of *England* for fife yeares passed, in consideration of a pact made, that King *Henry* should, after her decease, haue the Earledome of *Prouince*. But shortly after her returne home, shee disappoints him of that hope; and bestowes the same with her yongest daughter *Beatrix*, on *Charles*, the French Kings brother, who was after King of *Naples* and *Sicile*. So that she liued to see all her foure daughters Queenes: *Richard* Earle of *Cornewall*, comming afterwards to be elected King of the *Romans*.

1244. *Anno Reg. 28.* 12 Parliament.—Meanes now vpon these profusions, to haue fresh supply of Treasure, was onely by way of Parliament, which is againe in *Anno Reg. 28.* assembled at *Westminster*, and therein the Kings wants, and the present occasions vrged for the necessary defence of the Kingdome, hauing now to doe with *Wales* and *Scotland*; whose Princes lately reuolting, ioyne together to annoy the same; but nothing could bee effected without the assurance of reformation, and the due execution of the Lawes: notwithstanding the King comes againe himselfe in person, as before, and pleades his owne necessities. Heere they desire to haue ordayned, that foure of the most graue and discrete Peeres should bee chosen as Conseruators of the Kingdome, and sworne of the Kings Councell, both to see Iustice obserued, and the Treasure issued, and these should euer attend about the King or at least three or two of them. Besides that the Lord Chiefe Iusticiar, and the Lord Chancellour, should be chosen by the general voyces of the States Assembled, or else bee one of the number of those foure. Besides / they propound that there might bee two Iustices of the Benches, two Barons of the Exchequer; and one Iustice for the Iewes, and those likewise to bee chosen by Parliament. *That as their function was publike, so should also be their election.*

But whiles these things were in debating, the enemy of mankinde and disturber of Peace, the Diuell, (sayth *Mat.*

Par.) hindred the proceeded, by the comming of Martin a new Legate sent from the Pope, with a larger power then euer any before, to exact vpon the State ; which hee supposed now to haue beeene so wrought, and ready, as the Kings turne béeing serued, his likewise should bee presently supplyed. But making too much haste before the first had passage, hee frustrates his owne desire, and receiuers a most peremptory repulse of the whole Kingdome, in so much as his Agent was disgracefully returned home, with this displeasing message. That the Kingdome was poore : had great Warres, the Church in debt, not able to yeeld any more. Besides this course was of dangerous consequence to this State, which alone seemed exposed to the Popes will, and therefore seeing a generall Councell was shortly to be helde at Lyons, if the Church would be relieved, it were fit the same should be done by a generall consent in that Councell.

The Emperour *Frederickes* letters to the king.—Besides, at this time the Emperour *Fredericke*, by his Letters which were openly read in this Assembly, first intreates, as before he had oftentimes done, that the Pope might haue no supplies out of England, which (he said) were only required to remoue him, whom contrary to all Piety and Iustice he had oppressed, by seizing upon his Cities and Castles, appertaining to the Empire. And for many years (notwithstanding his often submission and desire of peace) proceeded in all foule and Hostile manner against him, both by the sword, and vniust excommunications. And seeing he could obtaine no due hearing, hee had referred his cause to bee arbitrated by the Kings of England and France, and the Baronage of both Kingdomes. And therefore desires, he might not receive detriment, whence he expected fauour, as a brother and friend, Adding in the end, that if the King would be aduised by him hee would by power free this Kingdome from that vniust tribute which Innocentius the third, and other Popes had laid vpon it. These letters pleased the Assembly and animated them the rather to deny the Popes Mandate.

The interposition of this businesse tooke vp so much time, as nothing else was done in this Parliament : onely they granted an ayde to the King, for the marriage of his daughter, twenty shillings of euery Knights fee, and that with much ado and repetition of all his former Aydes.

An other grieuance of the Barons.—After this, vpon a light occasion, the King vndertakes an expedition of great charge against *Alexander King of Scots*, for which euery Baron which held in *Capite, Spirituall and Lay*, were commaunded to bee ready with all Military prouision due for that seruice. Whereunto, likewise repaires *Thomas Earle of Flanders* with three score Knights, and a hundred other seruants (thirsting for the Kings money) whose vnecessary comming was ill taken by the Barons of *England*, as if the strength of the Kingdome without him, were not sufficient for that Action, which was as suddainly ended as vndertaken, by a faire conclusion of Peace with King *Alexander*; a Prince highly commended for his vertues, by the Writers of that time.

13 Parliament. An inquiry about Lands inforested which bred great grieuances. An inquiry of the Popes reuenues in *England*. 1245. *Anno Reg. 29.*—Vpon this retурne, againe that Winter he assembles another Parliament, wherein hee moues for an Ayde, vpon a designe he had for *Wales*, and to supply his wants, and pay his debts, which were vrged to be so great, as hee could not appeare out of his Chamber for the infinite clamor of such to whom he owed for his Wine, Wax, and other necessaries of House. But they all to his face, with one voice, refused to grant him anything. Whereupon other violent courses are taken. An ancient quarrell is found out against the City of *London*, for which they are commanded to pay fifteene thousand Markes. And *Passeleue* the Kings Clerke is employed with others in a most peremptory Commission, to inquire of all such lands, as had beene inforested, and either to fine the Occupyers thereof, at their pleasure, or take it from them, and sell the same to others.

Wherein such rigor was vsed, as multitudes of people were vndone. *So vnsafe are priuate mens estates, where Princes fall into so great wants.* Passeeue for his good seruice in this businesse should haue beene preferred to the Bishopricke of Chichester, but the Bishops / withstood the King therein. Now, in regard to shew the King the Estate of his Kingdome, and the oppression of Popes ; Inquiry was made of the reuenues which the Romans and *Italians* had in *England*, which was found to be annually, sixty thousand Markes, being more then the yearlye reuenues of the Crowne of *England* : which so mooued the King, as hee caused the same to be notified, with all other exactions, by his procurators to the generall Councell now assembled at *Lyons* ; which (with the ill vsage of *Martin*) so vexed the Pope, as hee is sayd to haue vttered these Words : *It is fit that we make an end with the Emperour, that we may crush these Petty Kings, for the Dragon once appeased or destroyed, these lesser snakes will be soone troden downe.* Which impious speech proceeding from such a mouth, whence the Oracles of peace and charity ought to bee vttered, was as ill taken, bred great scandall, and gaue warning to Princes of preuention ; who, though they maligned the corruptions of the Court of *Rome*, they were yet euer at one with the Church.

And the Clergy of *England* were most forward, to vindicate the State from that miserable oppression which of late by degrees they were drawne vnto, through the humility of their zeale : For, such is the nature of Domination, wheresoeuer it sits, that finding an yeeldingnes to indure, it neuer thinkes it hath power sufficient, vnlesse it hath more then enough : For, if the Popes (the professed soueraignes of piety) vpon the aduantage of mens zeale, and beleefe, grew to make their will, and their power equall (so that to question their sanctions was taught to bee sinne against the Holy Ghost) no maruaile if secular Princes, whose Consciences are vntyed, striue to breake out into the Wildnesse of their

wills from those bounds wherein by the law of the State they are placed.

1246. *Anno Reg. 30.*—But vpon the Pope reiecting the consideration of these grieuances of *England* (which were particularly deliuered in this Councell at *Lyons*) and dispising the Kings message (who, he said begane to Frederize) it was absolutely here ordained, vnder great penalty, that no contribution of money should be giuen to the Pope by any subiect of *England*; and the King, for a time, bustles against the Forraine exactions, in such sort as it gaue some hope of redresse. But being of an irresolute, and wauering nature, and afraid of threats, soone woman-like giues ouer what hee manfully vndertooke: so that the Pope continues his former rapine, though hauing by the continual exclamations of the Clergy, beene brought to promise neuer to send any more Legats into *England*, yet employes he other ministers, vnder the titles of Clerkes, who had the same power, as had his former Agents, and effected vnderhand his desires.

1247, *Anno Reg. 31*; 1248, *Anno Reg. 32.* 14 Parliament.—Now the other part of the state haue new occasions of complaint offered. *Peter of Sauoy Earle of Richmond* brings ouer certayne maydes to bee married to young Noble men of *England* the Kings Wards, of which *Edmond Earle of Lincolne* hath one, and *Richard de Burgh* another. And the same yeare three of the Kings brothers by the mother, *Guy de Lusignan*, *William de Valence*, and *Athelmar Clerke* are sent for ouer to bee prouided of Estates in *England*. *Thomas of Sauoy* (sometimes Earle of *Flanders* by right of his wife) comes with his sister *Beatrix Countesse of Prouince* the Queenes Mother: and they are againe feasted and gifted: For which the King is taxed in the next Parliament conuoked in *London* in *Candlemas Terme*; and besides sharply reprehended *For his breach of promise (vpon his requiring of another ayde)* hauing vowed and declared (*vpon his last supply*) by his Charter, neuer more to iniury the State in that kinde. Besides

they blamed him for his violent taking vp of prouisions for dyet, Wax, Silkes, Robes, &c. and especially for wine, contrary to the will of the sellers, whereby Merchants both of this, and other Kingdomes withdraw their commodities, in so much as all traffique and commerce utterly cease, to the detriment and infamy of the Kingdome.¹ That his Judges were sent in circuit vnder pretext of Justice to fleece the people. That Robert de Passeeleue had wrung from the borders of Forrests, for incroachments or assarts, great summes of mony, and therefore they wonder he should now demand relieve from the impouerished commons ; and aduised him since his needlesse expences (postquam Regni cæpit esse dilapidator) amounted to bee aboue 800 thousand pounds) that hee should pull from his fauourites inriched with this Treasure of the Kingdome, and reuoke the old Lands of the Crowne. /

Then they reproue him for keeping vacant in his hands Bishoprickes and Abbayes, contrary to the liberties of the Church, and his Oath made at his Coronation. Lastly, they all generally complaine for that the Chiefe Iusticiar, Chancellor and Treasurer, were not made by the Common Councell of the Kingdome, according as they were in the time of his Magnificent Predecessors, and as it was fit and expedient ; but such aduanced, as followed his will, in whatsoeuer tended to his gaine, and sought not promotion for the good of the Kingdome but their owne.

The King patiently indures this reprehension, in hope to obtayne his desire, and giues them promise of redresse, but nothing is effected ; after many meetings and much debate the Parliament is proroged till Midsommer following, during which time, they would with Patience expect how the King would beare himselfe towards them ; that accordingly they might obey, and satisfie his desire.

The Kings speech in Parliament.—But this delay wrought no good ; the King through ill Councell growes more obdurate,

¹ That he tooke from his subiects, *quicquid habuerunt in esculentis Rusticorum enim Equos, Bigas, Vina Victalia ad libitum capit.* (Rishanger.)

and harsh to his people, in so much as at the next Session he makes his speech : *Would you curbe the King your Lord, at your vnciuill pleasure, and impose a seruile condition vpon him ? will you deny vnto him what euery one of you, as you list, may do ? It is lawfull for every one of you to vse what counsell he will, and every master of a Family to preferre to any office in his house whom he pleases, and displace againe when he list, and will you rashly deny your Lord and King to do the like ? Whereas seruants ought not to iudge their Master, and Subiects their Prince, or hold them to their conditions. For the seruant is not aboue his Lord nor the Disciple aboue his Master. Neither should he be your King, but as your seruants who should so incline to your pleasures : wherefore he will neither remoue the Chiefe Iusticiar, Chancellor, nor Treasurer, according to their motion. In like manner finds he answeres to the rest of their Articles, and for the ayde hee required, it concern'd (he sayd) their Rights as well as his. And so the Parliament brake vp in discontent.*

The King is aduised to furnish his wants with the sale of his Plate and Iewels of the Crowne,¹ being told that as all riuers haue reflux to the sea, so all these things though sold and dispersed would reuert againe vnto him, and therefore it should not mooue him, and hauing with great losse receiued money for this ware, hee inquires who had bought it ? answer was made, the City of *London*; that *City*, said he, is an vnexhaustible *Gulph*: if Octauius treasure were to be sold they would surely buy it, and there withall inueighes against the *City*, which had so often serued his turne, and deuises all meanes to vexe the same, causing shortly after a new faire to bee kept at *Westminster*, forbidding vnder great penalty all exercise of Merchandise within *London* for fifteene dayes, and

¹ *Claus, Anno 48. & 49. Henry 3.* Beginneth first with sale of Land, then of Iewels, pawneth *Gascoigne*, and after his Crowne when hauing neither credite nor pawnes of his owne, he layeth the ornaments and iewels of Saint *Edwards* shrine, and giues ouer house-keeping.

all other Faires in *England*, and namely that of *Ely*. This nouelty came to nothing: the inconuenience of the place, as it was then, and the foulenesse of the weather brought more affliction then benefit to the Traders.

1249. Anno Reg. 33. The King requires New-yeares gifts.— That Christmas also (without respect of Royall Magnificence) hee requires new yeares gifts of the *Londoners*, and shortly after writes vnto them his letters imperiously deprecatory, to ayde him with money, which with much grudging they doe, to the summe of 20000. pounds, for which, the next yeare after hee craues pardon of the City, sending for them to *Westminster Hall*. And notwithstanding his continuall taking vp all prouisions for his house, he so much lessens his hospitality (introducing say they, the Romane Custome of dyet) as was held very dishonorable, and vnusuall to the English Magnificence of Court.

Then, where he could obtayne nothing of the States together, hee calles vnto him, or writes to euery Noble man a part, declaring his pouerty and how he was bound by Charter in a debt of 30. thousand pounds to those of *Burdeaux*, and the *Gascoignes*, (who otherwise would not suffer him to depart home) at his last beeing in *France*, notwithstanding hee required nothing but of fauour, which where hee found, he would returne with the like. And fayling likewise heerein, hee addresses his Letters to the Prelates, where he findes as little reliefe. By much importunity, and his owne presence hee got of the Abbot of *Ramsey* 100. pounds; but the Abbot of *Borough* had a face to refuse him the like summe, though the King told him it was more Almes to giue vnto him, then to a beggar that went from doore to doore: The Abbot of Saint *Albones* yet / was more kinde, and gaue him 60. Markes. To this lownesse, did the necessity of this indigent King (through his profusion) decline him. The Iewes euer exposed to his will, feele the weight of these his wants, and their Estates are continually ransackt. One *Abraham*, found a delinquent,

redeemes himselfe for 700. Markes. Aaron another Iewe, protests, the King had since his last being in *France*, taken from him at times, thirty thousand Markes of siluer, besides hee had giuen 200. Markes in Gold to the Queene.

The Lords assemble againe at *London*, and presse him with his promise made vnto them, that the Chiefe Iusticiar, Chancellor, and Treasurer might bee constituted by the generall Councell of the Kingdome; but by reason of the absence of *Richard Earle of Cornwall*, which was thought to be of purpose, they returne frustrate of their desire. So that discontentment still goes on, and neither side get any thing but by hard wrestings, which became them both ill, and shew us the miseries of a dis-joynted time.

1250. Anno Reg. 34. The Kings speech to the Chapter at *Winchester*.—The King labours the Couent of *Duresme* to prefer his brother *Athelmar* to the Bishopricke; the Couent refuses him, in regard of his youth and insufficiency; the King answers, *that then he would keep the Bishoprick eight or nine years more in his hand, till his brother were of more maturity*. Shortly after the Bishopricke of *Winchester* falles voide; and thither he sends presently his solicitors to prepare the Monkes of the Cathedral Church, to elect his brother; and for that he would not haue also their repulse, he suddainly goes thither himselfe in Person, enters the Chapter-house as a Bishop or Prior, gets vp into the Presidents Chayre, begins a Sermon, and takes his text: *Justice and Peace hath kissed each other*, and thereupon vses these words: *To me, and other Kings, and to our Princes and Iusticiars, who are to gouerne the people, belong the rigor of Iudgement, and Justice: to you, who are men of quiet and religion, peace and tranquillity; and this day I heare, you haue (for your owne good) beene fauorable to my request. Justice and Peace hath kissed each other. Once I was offended with you for withstanding mee in the election of William Rale your late Bishop, a man I liked not; but now I am friends with you for this, and will both remember and reward your*

kindnesse. As by a woman came destruction to the World, so by a woman came the remedy. I to satisfie my wife, desirous to preferre her Vnkle William Valentine, disquieted and damnified you, so now, willing to aduance my brother, by the Mother, will reconcile my selfe unto you, &c. And you are to consider how in this City I was borne, and in this Church Baptized. Wherefore you are bound vnto me in a straighter bond of affection, &c. Then commends he the high birth and good parts of his Brother, and what honor and benefit they should haue by electing him, but concludes with some threatning. So that the Monkes, seeing him thus to require the Bishopricke, held it in vaine to deny him ; and Athelmar is elected though with this reseruation ; if the Pope allowed thereof.

The cause of Sir *Henry Bath*. 1251. Anno Reg. 35. 15. Parliament.—Shortly after followes the memorable cause of Sir *Henry de Bath* a Iusticiar of the Kingdome, and an especiall Councillor to the King, who by corruption had attayned to a mighty Estate, and is said in one circute to haue gotten 200. pound land *per annum*: he is accused by Sir *Phillip Darcy* of false-hood in the Kings Court, and the King so incenced against him, as in the Parliament about this time holden in *London*, Proclamation is made that whosoeuer had any action or complaint against *Henry de Bath*, should come and bee heard: one of his fellow Iusticiars accused him of acquitting a malefactor for a bribe. The King seeing the friends of the accused strong, breakes out into rage, protesting that whosoeuer would kill *Henry de Bath* should bee acquitted for the deed: but afterward hee comes pacified by the Earle of *Cornwall*, and the Bishop of *London*, Who vrged the danger of the time, the discontentment of the Kingdome; and how the proceeding in such a manner with one of his Councell, whom he had used in so great businesse, would discourage others to serue such a Master, who vpon malicious accusations should so forsake them, whose places were euer exposed to envy and detraction. And thereupon Sir *Henry* is released paying

2000. Markes, and after restored to his former place and fauour.

The marriage of *Margaret* with *Alexander King of Scots*, solemnized at *Yorke*.—The King keeping his Christmas at *Yorke*, the marriage is solemnized betwenee *Alexander King of Scots*, and *Margaret* his Daughter; the ryot of which feast with the vaine expences of apparell (the note of a diseased time) is described by our author, who amongst other things, reports how the Archbishop gaue 60. fat Oxen which were spent at / one meale; besides that feast cost him 4000. Markes, which shewes, the pouerty of the Church, was not so great as it was pretended to be, seeing when they would shew their glory, they could finde what they denied at other times.

The King of *France* prisoner by the Soldian. The King of *England* vndertakes the Crosse.—The Pope Sollicites the King to vndertake the Crosse, and so doth *Alphonsus King of Castile*: Offering to accompany him in Person to rescue the King of *France*. Who hauing euen emptied his Country both of Treasure and Nobility, was now taken prisoner by the *Soldian*, and held in miserable Captiuity. A ransome collected for him in *France*, with great vexation, is by tempest cast away on the Sea; other meanes are made for treasure, which could not easily be had: the captiue King offers to restore *Normandy* to the King of *England* so hee would come to his rescue. Which, the Nobility of *France* takes ill and disdaine the weakenesse of their King: vpon the Popes sollicitation and the grant of a Tenth of the Clergy and Layety for three yeares to come, the King of *England* vndertakes the Crosse, rather it seemes to get the money then with any purpose to performe the iourney. Which, had it beene collected, would (saith *Paris*) haue amounted to 600. thousand pounds, to the vtter impouerishing of the Kingdome, which was that, they both sought, but by seuerall wayes, for many now began to discouer, that the Pope, by this imbarking the Princes of Christendome in this remote, and consuming warre, to wast them, their

Nobility and Kingdome, was onely but to extend his owne power and domination.

1252. Anno Reg. 36. The King by Proclamation calls the Londoners to Westminster, and there causes the Bishops of Worcester and Chichester, to declare his intentions ; and exhort the people to vndertake the crosse and attend him ; but few are moued by their perswasions, only three Knights (and they of no great note) are nominated ; whom the King presently, in open view, imbrates, kisses and calls brethren, checking the Londoners as ignoble mercenaries, for that few of them were forward in this action, notwithstanding hee there takes his Oath for performing of the same, and to set forth presently vpon Midsummer day next. In taking this oath, he layes his right hand on his breast (according to the manner of a Priest) and after on the booke, and kist it, as a Lay-man.

The Bishops and Lords deny the King the tenth granted by the Pope. The speech of *Isabel Countesse of Arundel* to the King.—A Parliament about this Tenth (granted by the Pope but not the people) is called at *London* ; the Bishops are first dealt withall (as being a worke of piety) to induce the rest ; they absolutely refuse the same. Then the Lords are set vpon ; they answer : *What the Bishops (who were first to giue their voyce consent unto) they would allow the same* ; this shuffling put the King into so great rage as he draue out all that were in his Chamber, as hee had bin mad. Then falls he to his former course, to perswade them a part ; sends first for the Bishop of *Eley*, deales with him in all milde and kind manner, recounting the *Many fauors he had receiued at his hands* : *how forward he had found him heretofore to supply his occasions* ; and intreates him now to give good example to others, &c. The Bishop replyes, *he was glad, at any time to haue done him acceptable seruice, but in this, for himselfe, to goe from that forme, the vniuersality of the State had determined, he held it a dishonest act* ; and therfore besought his highnes he would not vrge him therunto, disswading him from that iourney by the example of

the King of France, on whom, he might see the punishment of God to be falne, for his rapine made on his peoples substance, wherwith he had now inriched his enemies, who were growne fat with the infinit treasure of the Christians transported in those parts.

The King seeing the resolution of this graue Bishop, in great passion commaunded his seruants to thrust him out of doore, perceiuing by this what was to be expected of the rest ; and so fals to his former violent courses. During this Parliament (an ill time for sutors) *Isabel Countesse of Arundel* (widdow) comes vnto him about a Warde detained from her, in regard of a small parcell of land held in Capite (which drew away all the rest) ; the King giuing her a harsh answere and turning away she sayd vnto him, *My Lord, why turne you away your face from Justice, that we can obtaine no right in your Court ? you are constituted in the middest betwixt God and vs ; but neither gouerne your selfe nor vs discreetly as you ought, you shamefully vex both the Church and Nobles of the Kingdome by all meanes you may.* To which speech the King disdainfully replies : *Lady Countesse hath the Lords made you a Charter and sent you (for that you are an Eloquent speaker) to be their aduocate and prolocutrix ? No Sir (saith she) they haue not made any Charter to me. But the / Charter which your father and you made, and [haue] sworne so often to obserue, and so often extorted from your subiects their money for the same, you vnworthily transgresse, as a manifest breaker of your faith. Where are the Liberties of England, so often written, so often granted, so often bought ? I (though a woman) and with mee, all your naturall, and faithfull people, appeale against you to the tribunall of that High Iudge aboue ; and Heauen, and earth shall be our witnesse, that you haue most vniustly dealt with vs : and Lord God of reuenge, auenge vs.* Herewithall the King disturbed, asked her if she expected no grace from him being his kinswoman : *How shal I hope for grace, said she, when you deny me right ? and I appeale before the face of Christ against.*

those Councillors of yours, who, onely greedy of their owne gaine, haue bewitched and infatuated you.

The King reprooued by the Maister of the Hospitall of Ierusalem.—As boldly, though in fewer words, is he reprooued by the Master of the Hospitall of Ierusalem in *Clarken-Well*, who comming to complaine of an iniury committed against their Charter, the King told him: *The Prelats, and especially the Templars and Hospitalers, had so many Liberties and Charters that their riches made them proud, and their pride mad, and that those things which were vnaudisedly granted, were with discretion to be revoked; and alledges how the Pope had often recalled his owne grants, with the clause non obstante, and and why should not he cassat those Charters inconsiderately granted by him, and his Predecessors?* What say you Sir (sayd the Prior): God forbid so ill a word should proceede out of your mouth. *So long as you obserue Justice you may be a King, and as soone as you violate the same you shall leaue to be a King.*

The Fryers Minors, to whom he had sent a load of Frees to cloath them, returned the same with this message: *That hee ought not to giue Almes of what he had rent from the poore;* neither would they accept of that abominable gift. With these and many such like bolde encounters (ill becomming the obedience of Subiects) is this King affronted: to shew vs the ill complexion of the time, and how miserable a thing it is for a Prince to loose his reputation, and the loue of his people, whereby they both haue their vexations.

Strangers commit ryots.—And daily more and more hardned hee is against the English: whereby Strangers are made so insolent, as they commit many ryots and oppressions in the Kingdome. *William de Valence* (whose youth and presumption went which way his will led him) goes from his Castle of Hartfort to a Parke of the Bishop of *Eley*, lying neere his manner of *Hatfield*, where after hauing spoyled much game hee enters into the Bishops house and finding no drinke but Ale, causes the Cellar doore beeing strongly barred, to be

broken open by his people, who after they had drunke their fill, let out the rest on the floore. But a greater violence then this was offred to an Officiall of the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* by the commandement of the Elect of *Winchester* (the one brother to the Queene, the other to the King) which troubled them both, and gaue them much to doe before it was appeased. *Guy de Lusignan*, the other brother of the King, comming as a guest to the Abbot of St. *Albones* violates the Rights of Hospitality, and many other iniurie, are reported by our Author to haue beene committed by Strangers, and much complaint is made of that time, wherein, this was said to bee the vsuall exclamation. *Our inheritance is giuen to Aliens, and our houses to Strangers*, which notwithstanding the King seekes still to preferre.

A daughter of *Guy de Lusignan* Earle of *Angolesme* is married to *Richard* (or *Gilbert de Clare*) Earle of *Glocester*, a man eminent, and dearely loued of the Nobility; Learned in the Lawes of the Land; and held a great Patriot: which manacle of alliance lockt not yet his hands from defending the liberties of his Countrey; the King promises her a dowery of fife thousand Markes, which hee sought to borrow of diuers, but could not.

The City of *London* is againe compelled to the contribution of 1000. Markes; and the *Gascoigns* being vpon reuolt (vnlesse speedy remedy were taken) generall musters are made and commandement giuen that whosoever could dispend thirteene pounds *per annum*, should furnish out a horse-man. This with the extreame wants of the King, occasions another Parliament, wherein the State began, it seemes wisely to consider that all their opposition did no good, the Kings turne must bee serued one way or other, / some must pay for it; and where it lighted on particulars it was far more heauy, then it could be in generall; and therefore they agreed to relieue him rather by the vsuall way, then force him to those extrauant courses which he tooke. But so, as the reformation of

the gouernment and ratification of their Lawes, might be once againe solemnly confirmed.

A tenth and Scutage granted by Parliament.—And after fifteene dayes consultation to satisfie the Kings desire, for his holy expedition (a Tenth is granted by the Clergy) which yet by view of the Lords should, vpon his setting forth, bee distributed for three yeares; and Scutage, three Markes of euery Knights Fee, by the Laytie for that yeare. And now againe those often confirmed Charters are ratified, and that in the most solemne and ceremoniall manner, as *Religion and State*, could euer deuise to doe.

1253. Anno Reg. 37.—The King with all the great Nobility of *England*, all the Bishops and chiese Prelates in their reuerend Ornements, with burning candles in their hands assemble to heare the terrible sentence of Excommunications against the infringers of the same. And, at the lighting of those Candles, the King hauing receiued one in his hand, giues it to a Prelate that stood by, saying, *It becomes not me being no Priest to hold this candle, my heart shall be a greater testimony*, and withall, laid his hand spread on his breast the whole time the sentence was read, which was thus pronounced: *Auctoritate Dei omnipotentis, &c.* which done, he caused the Charter of King *John* his Father granted by his free consent to be likewise openly read. In the end, hauing throwne away their Candles (which lay smoaking on the ground) they cryed out: *So let them who incurre this sentence be extinct, and stincke in hell.* And the King with a loud voyce sayd: *As God me helpe, I will, as I am a Man, a Christian, a Knight, a King Crowned and Anointed, inuiolable obserue all these things.* And therewithall the Bels rung out, and all the people shouted with ioy.

Neuer were Lawes amongst men (except those Holy Commandements from the Mount) established with more Maiesty of Ceremony, to make them reuerend, and respected then were these: they wanted but thunder and lightning from

Heauen (which if prayers could haue procured, they would likewise haue had) to make the sentence gastly, and hydeous to the infringers thereof. The greatest security that could bee giuen was an oath (the onely chayne on earth, besides loue, to tye the conscience of a man, and humaine society together) which, should it not hold vs, all the frame of gouernment, and other must needes fall quite a sunder.

The King resumes *Gascoign* from his brother *Richard*, giues it to his sonne Prince *Edward*.—Now the businesse of *Gascoigne* (that required present care) is in hand, which the better to know, we must returne to the head whence it sprung twenty seuen yeares past, the King, by the counsel of the Lords, freely granting to his brother *Richard* all that Prouince, who is there receiued as their Lord with their oathes of Fealty made vnto him ; and so continues, vntill the King (hauing issue of his owne), by motion of the Queene reuokes his gift, and confers it vpon the eldest sonne *Edward*. *Richard*, though hee were depriued of the possessions, would not yeeld to forgoe his right, and at the Kings last being in *Gascoigny*, many of them stand doubtfull whom to attend ; the King in great displeasure commanded his brother to resign his Charter, and renounce his right ; which, he refusing to doe, the King commands those of *Burdeaux* to take and imprison him ; but they (in regard of his high blood, the homage they had made him, and the Kings mutability, who might resent his owne commandment) would not aduenture thereon. Then hee assailes them with money, which effected more then his commandement : the Earle is in danger to be surprised, escapes out of *Burdeaux*, and comes ouer into *England*.

Simon Monfort Earle of *Leicester* sent into *Gascony*. *Monforts* contestation with the King.—The King Assembles the Nobility of *Gascoigny* at *Burdeaux* ; inuaighes against his brother : *A man, sayde hee, was couetous, and a great oppressour, a large promiser, but a spare Payer ; and that hee would prouide them of a better Gouvernour* : With all, promises them thirty thousand

Markes (as a price of their obedience) and so nullifies the Charter of his former donation, with their homage, and takes their [Oathes] of Fealty to himselfe. Which yet they would not make vnto him, till hee had inwrapt himselfe both by his Charter and Oath for this promised summe : whereunto they so held him, as thereby, afterward they lost his loue. And to be reuenged on them, he sends *Simon Monfort* Earle of *Leicester*, a rough and Martiall man to Master their pride : makes him a Charter / for sixe yeares to come, and furnishes him with 10000. Markes the better to effect his Command. *Monfort* by his sterne gouernment so discontents the *Gascoignes*, as after three yeaeres suffering, they send the Arch-bishop of *Burdeaux* with other great men, to complaine of his hard dealing, and accuse him of haynous crimes : Their grieuances are heard before the King and his Councell. *Monfort* is sent for ouer, to answere for himselfe, the Earle of *Cornewall* for his receiued wrong in those parts, and the Lords of *England* for their loue to him, take *Monforts* part ; and that so eagerly, as the King comes about to fauor and countenance the *Gascoigns* against *Monfort* ; not for his loue to them, but to awe, and abate the other. Whereupon *Monfort* enters into vndutifull contestation with the King, vpbraides him with his expencefull seruice : wherein he sayes, he had vtterly consumed his Estate : And how the King had broken his word with him ; and requires him eyther to make it good, according to his Charter, or render him his expences. The King in great rage told him, no promise was to bee obserued with an vnworthy Traytor ; Wherewith *Monfort* rises vp protesting that hee lyed in that word, and were hee not protected by his Royall dignity, he would make him repent it. The King commands his seruants to lay hold on him, which the Lords would not permit. *Monfort* thereupon grew more audacious, saying, who wil beleue you are a Christian ? were you euer confessed ? if you were, it was without repentance, and satisfaction. The King told him he neuer repented him of any thing so much, as to

haue permitted him to enter into his Kingdome, and to haue honoured, and instated him, as he had done.

Monfort returned to his charge.—The *Gascoigns*, after this, are priuatly sent for by the King, who giues them all comfort, and incourages them against *Monfort*, whom yet hee would againe send ouer to his charge, but with clipt wings, whereby both himselfe and they might the better bee reuenged on him, and withall confirmes the state of *Gascoigne* to his sonne *Edward*, whom he promised them shortly to send ouer: where-with they are much pleased, and after they had done their homage to the Prince, depart. The effect of this confused, and ill-packt businesse was such, as all indirect courses produce. *Monfort* returnes in flames to plague the *Gascoignes*, and they in like manner him, but hee by his great Aliance in *France*, drawes together such a power, as beyond expectation, hee ouer-matches the *Gascoignes*, whose estates hee exposes to spoyle, and therewithall entertaynes great collected armies. They againe send ouer their complaints, and vnlesse they were speedily relieved, they of force must put their Country into some other hand, that would protect them.

The King goes ouer into *Gascoigne* with 300 great ships. Aliance with the King of *Spaine*.—And in this state stood *Gascoigne* now at the time of this last Parliament, whither the King, vpon this late supply granted (omitting his Easterne enterprise) goes with 300. Sayle of great Ships, and lands at *Burdeux* in *August*, *Anno Reg. 38.* hauing first deposed *Simon Monfort* from the gouernment there, and makes voide this Charter by proclamation. *Monfort* retyres from thence, and is offered intertainment by the French, but refuses it. Before Winter the King had in some sort appeased the *Gascoignes*, and taken in such Castles, as had long held out against him, and the late Gouernour. For they hauing put themselues vnder the protection of the King of *Spaine*; who beeing so neere a neighbour, and the discontents and factions of the Country strong, caused the King of *England* with more hast,

and care to looke to his worke, and the rather for that the King of *Spaine* pretended title to *Aquitaine*; of whom that King *Henry* might bee the more secure, he sends to treat with him of a marriage betwixt Prince *Edward*, and his sister *Elioner*, whereunto the King of *Spaine* willingly consents.

1254. Anno Reg. 38. Prince *Edward* marries *Elioner* sister to the King of Spaine.—The King of *England* keeps his Christmas at *Burdeux*. The Queene sends him a new-yeares-gift of 500. Markes, and the next Summer, with the Prince, goes ouer vnto him. The marriage is solemnized at *Burgos*, where the King of *Spaine* Knights the Prince and by his Charter quits his clayme to *Aquitaine*, for him and his successors for euer. The King of *England* inuestes the Prince, and his Wife therein, and besides giues vnto him *Ireland*, *Wales*, *Bristow*, *Stanford* and *Grantham*. This businesse dispatched, the King prepares to returne, hauing consumed all whatsoeuer he could get in this iourney, which with the other two he had before made, was reckoned to haue cost him twenty seauen / hundred thousand pounds, and was sayd to bee more then all the Lands hee had there (should they be sold) were worth, which, when he was told, he willed it might not bee reuealed in publike to his disgrace.

King *Henry* comes to *Paris* with 1000. horse; is feasted by the King of *France*. He returns into *England*, fines the *Londoners*.—Now in regard of danger by sea hee obtaynes leaue of the King of *France* (lately returned from Captiuity) to passe through his Country, and comes to *Paris* with a 1000. horse, besides Sumpters, and Carts, where he staiers eight daies, is sumptuously feasted, and with as great magnificence Feasts the King of *France*. This meeting, in regard of the two Queens sisters, and their other two sisters the Countesses of *Cornewall* and *Prouince* (who were likewise afterward, Queenes) was made the more triumphant, and splendidous. The King about *Christmas* arriues in *England*, and the first that paid for

his comming home, were the *Londoners* and the *Iewes*. The *Londoners* presenting him with 100. pounds, were returned without thankes: then being perswaded that plate would be better welcome, they bestowed 200. pounds in a faire vessell: that had some thankes, but yet serued not the turne. An offence is found, about the escaping of a prisoner, for which they pay 3000. Markes. Now complaines he of his debts, which he sayes to be 30000. Markes, and how his owne meanes was diminished by the preferment of the Prince, who carried away 15000. Markes *per annum*, and money must be had howsoeuer. First, he beginnes to serue his present turne with loanes, and borrowes great summes of the Earle of *Cornwall*, vpon pawne, and after the King had wrung what he could from the *Iewes*, he lets them out to Farme to this rich Earle to make the best of them.

1257. *Anno Reg. 41. 16* Parliament adiourned. Pope *Alexan. 4.* *Edmond* the Kings second son is promised the kingdome of *Sicile*.—Then a Parliament is called in Easter Terme, which yeelds nothing but returnes of grieuances and complaint of breach of Charter, which requiring their former pretended rights in electing the *Iusticiar*, *Chancellour* and *Treasurer*. After much debate to no purpose, the Parliament is prorogued till *Michaelmas* after, when likewise the Kings motion for money is disappointed, by reason of the absence of many Peeres beeing not, as was alledged, summoned according to the Tenor of *Magna Charta*. New occasions of charge and dislike arise. *Thomas Earle of Sauoy*, the Queenes brother, hath warres with the City of *Thuren* [Turin], and must be supplyed by the King and Queen, and his brother *Boniface Arch-bishop of Canterbury*. The elect Bishop of *Toledo*, brother to the King of *Spaine* with other great men, come ouer, lye at the Kings charge, and are presented with great gifts. Shortly after, *Elioner* the Princes wife arriues with a multitude of *Spaniards*, and she must be met, and receiued by the *Londoners* in sumptuous manner; and her people after

many Feastings returned home with presents. The Pope sends the Bishop of *Bononia* with a King of inuestiture, to *Edmond* the second sonne for the Kingdome of *Sicile* (with the hope of which Kingdom his Predecessor *Innocent* the fourth had before deluded the King himselfe) and he is returned with a great reward. Then comes *Rustandus* with power to collect the Tenth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, to the vse of the Pope and the King, and to absoluie him from his Oath for the Holy Warre: so that hee would come to destroy *Manfred* sonne to the Emperour *Fredericke*, now in possession of the Kingdome of *Sicile* and *Apulia*. And this man likewise hath great gifts bestowed on him, besides a rich Prebend in *Yorke*: but yet he obtayned not, what he came for, of the Clergy, who protested rather to loose their liues and liuings, then to yeeld eyther to the will of the Pope or the King, who they said, *Were as the Shepheard and the Wolfe combined to macerate the Flocke.*

The Pope sent likewise to borrow of the Earle of *Cornwal* 500. marks, in regard of his Nephewes preferment to the Kingdome of *Sicile*, but the Earle refused it, saying, *He would not lend his mony to one on whom he could not distraine*. So this project came to nothing, though all meanes were vsed to draw it on. Newes was spred that *Manfreds* Forces were vtterly defeated, and himselfe eyther slaine or taken Prisoner: wherewith the King is so much ioyed as he presently vowes with all speede to make an expedition thither, and giues his sonne *Edmond* no other Title but King of *Sicile*. This vayne hope had already, by the cunning of the Popes inwrapt him in obligations, of a hundred and fifty thousand Markes. But shortly after this newes prooues false, and the contrary is notified. *Manfred* is Victorious, and the Popes power defeated by those of *Apulia*, who tooke such indignation that the Pope should giue away their Countrey / (without their consent) to an vnknowne Stranger, as with all their maine power they ioyne to establish *Manfred*, who is now found to

bee the legitimate sonne of *Fredericke*, and confirmed in his right, which a strong sword will make howsoeuer.

The complaint of the Merchants of *Gascoigne*.—The King keepes his *Christmas* at *Winchester*, where the Merchants of *Gascoigne* hauing their wines taken from them, by the Kings Officers, without due satisfaction, complaine to the Prince, being now their Lord, and shew him, *How they were better to trade with Sarazins and Infidels, then thus to be vsed here, as they were.* The Prince addresses him to his Father, and craues redresse herein, but the Officers hauing beene with the King before to preuent the clamors of the *Gascoignes*, and telling him, *How they falsely exclaime, relying wholly vpon the Princes fauor, who tooke vpon him their vniust cause (and that there ought to be but one in England, to whom the ordering of Iustice appertained)* put him into so great a rage with the Prince, as he breakes out into these words. *See now my blood, and mine owne bowels impugne me, behold my son, as my brother hath done, is bent to afflict me, the times of my grandfather Henry the second, are againe renued, what will become of vs?* but this passion being allayed by Councell, he dissembles the matter, and giues order that these iniurie should be redressed. But yet the Prince for more caution, amplifying his traine rode with 200. horse. So easily are ialousies, by euil Ministers infused into Kings, who are of themselues too apprehensiuie in that kinde, beeing a thing that soone turnes the blood.

Insolencies committed by the Princes seruants.—And now to adde to the misery of these times, there are new mischieves committed by the insolence of the Seruants of the Prince, who beeing himselfe young, was attended by many youthfull and violent spirits, many Strangers, and men without meanes, who, wheresoeuer he went, made spoyle, and tooke for their owne, whatsoeuer they could fasten on, to the extreame vexation of the subiect. And they report how this Prince meeting a young man trauayling on the way, caused one of his eares to bee cut

off, and one of his eyes put out : which foule act, made many to suspect his disposition, and what he would prooue hereafter. And indeed, had he not beeene indued with an innated Noblenesse of Nature (which, with his long experience in trauaile and great actions ouercame the Vices, the loosenesse of the time, and his owne breeding contracted) he might haue prooued as bad as any other. For vnlesse Princes of themselues, by instinctiōn from aboue, bee indued with a naturall goodnesse, they shall gaine little by their education, wherein they are rather shewed what they are, then what they should be ; and are apter to learne to know their greatnessse, then themselues ; being euer soother in all whatsoeuer they doe.

These youthfull actions of this Prince, with his riotous trayne (which are sayde to be more rauenous then those which *Louys* brought out of *France* with him) put out the *Welsh* (of whom he had now the gouernment) into open act of rebellion, and to make spoyle of the English, as he did of them : whereupon he craues meanes of his Father, the Queene and his Uncle *Richard* to suppresse them. But all was vented already, the Kings Treasure was gone ouer the Alpes, Earle *Richard* had lent more then hee could get in, and the Earle of *Sauoy* in his warres had spent that of the Queenes.

The King is still at his shifts to supply his euerlasting necessities. Now he comes himselfe into his Exchequer, and with his owne voice pronounced, *That euery Shrieke, which appeared not yearly in the Octauies of St. Michel, with his mony, as well of his Farmes as amercements and other dues : for the first day should be amerced fīue marks, for the second, ten, for the third, fifteene, for the fourth, to be redeemed at the Kings pleasure. In like sort, that all Cities and Freedomes which answer by their Bayliffes, vpon the same default should be amerced, and the fourth day to loose their freedomes. Besides euery Shrieke, throughout England is amerced in fīue Markes for that they did not distraine within their Countries vpon whomsoeuer held 10. pound land per annum, and came not to*

be made Knight, or freed by the King. Then falleth he to the examination of measures for Wine and Ale, for Bushels and weights, which likewise brought in some small thing, and euery yeare commonly hath one quarrell or other to the *Londoners*, and gets some thing of them.

The Earle of *Cornwal* elected King of the *Romanes*.—But now there fell out a businesse that entertained some time, and gaue occasion to amaze the world with conceite of some great aduantage and honor to the Kingdome, by the / Election of *Richard Earle of Cornwall*, to bee King of *Romans*, which was (as our Writers say) by the generall consent of all the Electors, and by them is he sent for to receiue that Crowne: the matter is heere debated in Councell. Some, who thought his presence, necessary to sway businesses in the Kingdom, were vnwilling, and diswade him by example of the miserable destruction of two lately elected to that dignity, *Henry the Lantgraue of Turing*, and *William Earle of Holland*; but others, and especially the King (who was willing to be rid of him, as one he had often found too great for a subiect; and beeing a King abroad hee might make vse of him) perswades to take it vpon him, which he is easily (though seeming otherwise) induced to doe.

Richard Crowned at Aquisgrae.—But the *Germaine* Writers (who are best witnesses of their owne Affayres) declare how after the murther of the Earle of *Holland*, the Electors were diuided about the choyce of a successor. Some stiffe to vphold their ancient Custome in Electing one of their owne Country, which was more naturall. Others, of a stranger, who might better support their declyning State; which was more politike. Long were the conflicts of their Councells: hereupon in the end, their voyces who stood for strangers were most, but they likewise disagreed among themselues, some would haue *Richard*, brother to the King of *England*, others *Alphonsus King of Spaine*, both of them not only contending who should haue it, but who should giue most to buy it: in

the end *Richard* beeing neerest at hand, and his mony the readier, is preferred by the Bishop of *Metz*, the Bishop of *Cologne*, and the *Palsgraue*, whose voyces he is sayd to haue bought, and afterward is Crowned at *Aquisgraue*. Now to confirme himselfe, say they, in his State, he proceedes in all violent, and hostile manner (according as was set on) against those who opposed his Election, and hauing consumed himselfe both by his excessive gifts, in purchasing the suffrages he had, and by this prosecution, he came to be dispossessed, forsaken and forced to returne into *England* to his brother *Henry*, then in Warre with his Nobles. Thus they deliuier it.

But before the Earle departed out of *England*, the Earle of *Glocester*, and Sir *John Mansell*, were sent into *Germany* to sound their affections, and how they stood disposed towards him. They returne well-perswaded of the businesse, and shortly after the Arch-bishop of *Cologne* comes to conduct him ouer, on whom, the Earle bestowes 500 Markes towards his charges, and a rich Miter set with precious stones. This Prince the Earle of *Cornwall*, is reported able to dispend 100. markes a day for ten yeares, besides his reuenues in *England*.

The French, and especially the King of *Spaine*, are much displeased with this aduancement, complayning to the Pope and the King of *England* of the supplantation of the Earle of *Cornwall*. *Spaine* pretending to haue beene first elected, but being, it seemes a Philosopher and studious in the Mathematickes (which he first reuiued in *Europe*) hee was drawing Lines, when he should have drawne out his purse, and so came preuented of his hopes.

1257. Anno Reg. 41. 15 Parliament. 52 Thousand Markes, vpon conditions promised by the Clergy.—About the time of the departure of Earle *Richard* (in the iollity of the Kingdome vpon this new promotion, and to set forward another) the King cals a Parliament, wherein (bringing forth his sonne *Edmond*, clad in an Apulian habit) he vses these words: *Behold my good subiects, here my sonne Edmond whom God of his grace hath*

called to the dignity of regall excellency, how fitting and worthy is he the fauor of you all, and how inhumane, and tyranous were he who (in so important a necessity) would deny him Counsel and aide! And then shewes them, how by the aduice and benignity of the Pope, and the Church of *England*, he had for attaining the Kingdome of *Sicile* bound himselfe, vnder couenant of loosing his Kingdome of *England*, in the summe of 140. thousand Markes. Moreouer how he had obtainyd the Tenth of the Clergy, for three yeares to come, of all their benefices to be estimated according to the new rate, without deduction of expences vnlesse very necessary: besides their first-Fruits likewise for three yeares. Which declaration, how pleasing it was to the Clergy, may be iudged by their former grudgings. Notwithstanding, after they had made their pitifull excuses, in regard of their pouerty, they promised vpon the vsuall condition of *Magna Charta, &c.*, so often sworne, bought and redeemed, to giue 52. thousand Markes: but this satisfied him not. /

1258. *Anno Reg. 42.*—The next yeare after is another Parliament at *London*, wherein, vpon the Kings pressing them againe, for meanes to pay his debts to the Pope: the Lords tell him plainly: *They will not yeeld to pay him any thing. And if vnadvisedly, he without their consents, and Councell, bought the Kingdome of Sicile, and had beene deceiued, hee should impute it to his owne imbecillity, and beene instructed by the example of his prouident brother, who, when the same Kingdome was offered vnto him by Albert the Popes Agent, absolutely refused it, in regard it lay so farre of; So many Nations betweene; the cauils of the Popes; the infidelity of the people; and the power of the pretender, &c.* Then repeate they their owne grieuances, *The breach of his promises, contemning both the keyes of the Church, and the Charter he had solemnly sworne to obserue: the insolence of his brethren and other strangers, against whom, by his order, no Writ was to passe out of the Chancery, for any cause whatsoeuer: How their pride was*

intollerable, especially that of William de Valence, who most reproachfully had giuen the lye to the Earle of Leicester, for which he could not be righted vpon his complaint: How they abounded all in riches, and himselfe was so poore, as hee could not represso the same forces of the Welsh that wasted his Country, but going the last yeare against them and effecting nothing, returned with dishonour. The King hearing this (as hee was apt vpon rebukes soundly vrged to bee sensible, and his owne necessities constrainynge him thereunto) humbles himselfe, and tels them: *How he had often by ill-Councell beene seduced, and promises by his oath, which he takes on the tombe of S^t. Edward, to reforme all these errors.* But the Lords not knowing how to hold their euer-changing *Proteus* (saith *Paris*) in regard the businesse was difficult, get the Parliament to be adiourned till S^t. *Barnabas* day, and then to assemble at *Oxford*. In the meane time the Earles *Glocester*, *Leicester*, *Hereford*, the Earle Marshall, *Bigod*, *Spencer* and other great men Confederate, and prouide by strength to effect their desires. Whilst the King put to his shifts to obtayne money, gets the Abbot of Westminster, vpon promise of high preferment to put his Seale, and that of his Couent to a deede obligatory, as a surety for three hundred Markes, that by his example he might draw on others to doe like. Sending his trusty Counsaylor and Clearke *Simon Passeeue* abroad with his Letters, and this Deed vnto other Monasteries. But *Passeleue*, notwithstanding all the diligence and skill hee could vse, by threates or otherwise: Telling them, *How all they had came from the benignity of Kings, and how their Soueraigne was Lord of all they had*, They flatly refuse to yeelde to any such Deede. Saying, they acknowledged the King to be *Lord of all they had, but so, as to defend, not to destroy the same*. And thus he comes likewise disappointed in this project.

Prince *Edward* morgages *Stamford* and other townes to *William de Valence*.—The Prince, who likewise must participate in the wants of his Father, was driuen to morgage the Towne

of *Stamford*, *Braham* and many other things, to *William de Valence*, who out of his store, supplyed him with money, which after turned to the good of neyther, for it layde a recentement on the necessity of the one, which made him breake through his bands, and enuy on the other, whose superfluity made him odious.

The Barons expostulate for their former liberties.—But now comes assembled the Parliament at *Oxford*, and in a hot season (the worst time for consultation) and heere burst out that great impostume of discontent so long in gathering. The trayne which the Lords brought with them, was pretended to be for some exploit against the Welsh, vpon the end of the Parliament; and their securing the ports, to preuent Forraines, but the taking order for keeping of the Gates of *London*, and their Oathes and Hands giuen to each other, shewed that they were prepared to make the day theirs. Here they beginne with the expostulation of the former Liberties and require the obseruation thereof, according vnto the Oathes and Orders formerly made. The Chiefe Iusticiar, Chancellor, and Treasurer to be ordayned by publike choice: The twenty foure Conseruators of the Kingdome to bee confirmed, twelve by the election of the Lords, and twelue by the King, with whatsoeuer else made for their owne imagined security. The King seeing their strength, and in what manner they required these things, sweares againe solemnly to the confirmation of them, and causes the Prince to take the same Oath.

Henry eldest son of the King of *Romans* refused to take his oath.—But the Lords left not heere: the Kings brethren, the *Poictouins*, and other Strangers must / be presently remooued, and the Kingdome cleared of them, and this they would haue all the Peeres of the Land sworne to see done. Heere they found some opposition in the Prince, the Earle *Warrein* and *Henry* eldest sonne to *Richard* now King of *Romanes*: the last refusing to take his Oathe without leaue of his Father, they plainly told him, *That if his father would*

not consent with the Baronage in this case, he should not hold a Furrow of Land in England. (*Cron. Lichfield; Claus 49. Hen. 3.*) In the end, the Kings brethren and their followers are dispoyled of all their Fortunes, and exiled by prescription, vnder the Kings owne hand directed to the Earles of *Hereford* and *Surrey*, With charge not to passe either their Mony, Armes or Ornaments but in such sort as the Lords appointed ; and after their departure, hee enioyneth the City of *Bristow*, and other Ports not to permit any strangers or kinsmen of his to arriue, vnlesse they did so behauie themselues, as both he and the Lords should like.

The *Poictouins* retyring to *Bologne* in *France* send to King *Louys*, to craue safe passage through his Country into *Poictou*, which (in regard the Queene of *France* had been informed how they had defamed her sister of *England*) was, by her meanes denied at that time, and *Henry* sonne to the Earle of *Leicester* (whose estimation was great in *France*) followes them with all eagernessthither, to incense the French against them. (*Mat. Par.*) And as they whom Enuy tumbles downe from high places, shall be sure euer to haue all the thrusts possible to set them head-long into disgrace with the World ; so now the death, and sicknesse of diuers great men and others hapning in *England* soone after this fatall Parliament, is imputed to poysons supposed to haue beene prepared by those Gentle-men. The Earle of *Glocester* in a sicknesse suddainly lost his haire, his teeth, his nailes ; and his brother hardly escaped death, which made many to suspect their neerest seruants, and their Cookes. *Walter Scoiny* the Earles Steward being one, is strictly examined, committed to prison, and after, without confession executed vpon presumptions at *Winchester*. *Elias* a conuerted Iew, is sayd to haue confessed, that in his house the poyson was confected, but it was when he was a Diuell, not a Christian. Any thing in the prosecution of malice serues the turne. Euerie man that had receiued any wrong by those great men, now put vp their complaints, and are heard, to

the aggrauation of their insolence and iniustice. *Guido de Rochfort a Poictouin*, to whom the King had giuen the Castle of Rochester, is banished, and all his goods confiscate. *William Bussey* Steward to *William de Valence*, is committed to the Tower of London, and most reprochfully vsed, as an especiall minister of his Masters insolencies. *Richard Gray* whom the Lords had made Captaine of the Castle of Douer, is set to intercept whatsoeuer the *Poictouines* conueied that way out of England, and much treasure of theirs, and the elect of Winchester is by him there taken besides great sums committed to the new Temple are found out, and seized into the Kings hands. And, as vsually in such heats, much wrong is committed in these prosecutions of wrongs. But now (as an amuzatory, to make the ill-gouverned people thinke they are not forgotten) the new Chiefe Iusticiar *Hugh Bigod* brother to the Earle Marshall (chosen this last Parliament by publike voyce) procures that foure Knights in euery shiere should inquire of the oppressions of the poore done by great men, and vnder their hands and Seales certifie the same, by a certaine day, to the Baronage, that redresse might be made. Moreouer order was taken that *From thenceforth, no man should giue any thing (besides prouisions) for iustice, or to hinder the same, and both the corrupter and corrupted to be grieuously punished.* Notwithstanding this pretended care of the publicke it is noted by the writers and records of that time, how the Lords inforced the seruices of the Kings tenants which dwelt neere them, and were *totidem tyranni*: how they furnished the especiall fortresses of the Kingdome with Guardians of their owne, sworne to the Common state, and tooke the like assurance of all Shriefes, Baylifes, Coroners, and other publike Ministers, searching the behauour of many strict Commissioners vpon Oath. (*Regist. in Scacc. Wil. Rishangar.*) And to make their cause the more popular, it was rumored that the Kings necessity must be repaired out of the Estates of his people, and how he must not want whilst they had it, whereupon the

King sends forth proclamation : *How certain malicious persons had falsly and seditiously reported, that he ment unlawfully to charge his Subiects and subuert the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdome, and by these subtle Suggestions, altogether false, auerted the hearts / of his people from him ; and therefore desires them, not to giue credit to such perturbers, for that he was ready to defend all Rights and Customes due vnto them, and that they might rest of this secured, he caused of his free will his letters to be made Patents.*

1258. Anno Reg. 42. 15. Parliament at *London*.—But now *Monfort, Gloucester, and Spencer*, who had by the late institution of the twenty foure Conseruators, drawne the intire managing of the Kingdome into their hands, inforce the King to call the Parliament at *London*, where the authority of the twenty foure is deliuered vnto themselues, and order taken that three at the least should attend in the Court, to dispose of the custody of Castles, and other businesses of the Kingdome, of the Chancellor, Chiefe Iusticiar, and Treasurer, and of all Officers great and small. And here they binde the King to loose to them their Legale obedience whensoeuer hee infringed his Charter.¹

The Lords require an Oath of him.—In this State stood the Kingdome, when intelligence was giuen to the Lords, that *Richard King of Romans* had a purpose to come ouer into *England*, which made them greatly to suspect (being ignorant of the occasion) least hee were sent for by the King to come with power to subuert them, by the example of King *John*. Whereupon they send to know the cause of his comming, and to require of him an oath before hee should land, not to preiudice the now established orders of the Kingdome : which hee sternely refuses to doe, saying : *He had no Peere in England being the sonne and brother of a King, and was aboue*

¹ *Ordinat. inter Record. Ciuit. Lond. : Liceat omnibus de Regno nostro contra nos insurgere, & ad grauamen nostrum opem & operam dare ac si nobis in nullo tenerentur.—Char. Orig. sub Sigillo.*

their power; and if they would haue reformed the Kingdome, they ought first to haue sent for him, and not so presumptuously attempted a businesse of so high a Nature. The Lords vpon returne of this answeare send presently to gard the Ports, and come strongly to the Coast, prepared to incounter him if occasion were offered. But finding his trayne small, accompanied onely with his Queene, two German Earles, and eight Knights, they, vpon his promise to take their propounded Oath, receiue him to Land; but would neyther permit the King (who came likewise thither to meete him) nor himselfe to enter into *Douer Castle*. At *Canterbury* they bring him into the Chapter-house, where the Earle of *Glocester* standing forth in the middest, cals out the Earle, not by the name of King, but *Richard Earle of Cornwall*, who in reuerent manner comming forth, takes his Oath ministred in this manner.

The Oath of the King of *Romans*.—*Heare all men, that I Richard Earle of Cornewall, doe heere sweare vppon the Holy Euangelists that I shall bee faithfull, and diligent to reforme with you the Kingdome of England, hitherto by the Councell of wicked Persons ouer-much disordered, bee an effectuall Co-adiutor, to expell the Rebells and Disturbers of the same, and this Oathe I will inuiolably obserue vnder payne of loosing all the Land I haue in England: So helpe mee God.*

In this manner deale the Lords to binde this great Earle vnto them, supposing his power to haue beene more then it was, which at length they found to bee nothing but an airy Title, for hauing consumed all that mighty substance abroad, in two yeares (which with great frugality, had beene many in gathering) hee returns in this manner home, poore and forsaken by the Germains, without any other meanes to trust vnto, but only what hee had in *England*.

1259, *Anno Reg. 44*; 1261, *Anno Reg. 45*. He resignes *Normandy, &c.*—Notwithstanding vpon his returne the King takes heart, and seekes all meanes to vindicate his power, dispatching first messengers secretly to *Rome*, to bee absolued

from his inforced Oath, then sends into *Scotland* to the King, and the Queene his daughter for aydes to bee ready vpon his occasions. And to haue the more assurance of the King of *France*, and bee freede from Forraine businesse, hee makes an absolute resignation, of whatsoeuer right hee had to the Dutchy of *Normandy*, and the Earledomes of *Aniou*, *Poictou*, *Tourene*, and *Maine*, in regard whereof the King of *France* gives him three hundred thousand pounds (some say crownes) of *Aniouine* money, and grants him to enioy all *Guien* beyond the riuier *Garonne*, all the Countrey of *Xantonge* to the Riuer of *Charente*, the Countries of *Limosin*, and *Quercy* for him and his successors doing their Homage and Fealty to the Crowne of *France*, as a Duke of *Aquitaine*, and a Peere of that Kingdome.

The Lords combine against the king.—The Lords likewise on the other side seeke to strengthen their association, and hold in each other to their Oathes, and obseruations of their orders, which was hard to doe : for / consisting of manifold dispositions, there was daily wauering, sometimes Pikes amongst themselues, in so much as the Earle of *Leicester* (the chiefe man that kept the fire of that faction in) told the Earle of *Glocester* finding him staggering, *That he cared not to liue with such men, whom he found so mutable and vncertaine, for sayd he, my Lord of Gloucester, as you are more eminent, so are you more bound to what you haue undertaken for the good of the Kingdome.* And as he incenced others, so had he those that animated him, as *Walter Bishop of Worcester*, and *Robert Bishop of Lincolne*, who inioyned him vpon remission of his sinnes to prosecute the cause vnto death, affirming *How the peace of the Church of England could neuer be established but by the materiall sword.* (*Wil. Rishanger.*)

1262, Anno Reg. 46; 1263, Anno Reg. 47.—But now many being the temptations, many are drawne away from their side, especially after the sentence giuen against them by the King of *France*, made Arbiter of the quarrell, who yet though he

condemned the prouisions of *Oxford*, allowed the confirmation of King *Johns* Charter : by which distinction hee left the matter as hee found it : for those prouisions, as the Lords pretended, were grounded vpon that Charter. Howsoever his sentence much aduantaged the King of *England*, and made many to dispence with their Oath, and leaue their party. Amongst whom was *Henry* sonne to the Earle of *Cornwall*, (on whom the Prince had bestowed the honor of *Tyckhill*) who comming to the Earle of *Leicester* told him, hee would not be against his Father, the King, nor his allyes : but sayd hee, my Lord, I will neuer beare armes against you ; and therefore I craue leaue to depart. The Earle chearefully replies : my Lord *Henry*, I am not *Sorry for your departure, but for your inconstancy ; goe, returne with your armes, I feare them not at all.* About the same time *Roger Clifford*, *Roger de Leisborne*, *Hamo l' Strange*, and many other (won with gifts) depart from the Barons.

The beginning of the Warres.—Shortly after *Roger de Mortimer* of the Kings part breakes into open act of hostility, makes spoyle of the Lands of the Earle of *Leicester*, who had now combined himselfe with *Lewellin* Prince of *Wales*, and had sent Forces to inuade the lands of *Mortimer* in those parts. And here the sword is first drawne in this quarrell, about three yeares after the Parliament at *Oxford*. The Prince takes part with *Mortimer*, surprises the Castle of *Brecknocke* : with other places of strength, which hee deliuers to his custody. The Earle of *Leicester* recouers the towne and Castle of *Glocester*, constraines the Citizens to pay a thousand pounds for their redemption, goes with an army to *Worcester*, possesses him of the Castle, thence to *Shrewsbury*, and so comes about to the Isle of *Eley*, subdues the same, and growes very powerfull.

1264. Anno Reg. 48. 16 Parliament.—The King doubting his approach to *London* (being not yet ready for him) workes so as a mediation of peace is made, and agreed, vpon these

conditions: that all the Castles of the King should be deliuered to the keeping of the Barons; the prouisions of Oxford, should be inviolably obserued: All strangers by a certaine time should auoide the Kingdome, except such as by a generall consent, should be held faithfull, and profitable for the same. Here was a little pause, which seemes was but as a breathing for a greater rage. The Prince had fortified *Windsor Castle*, victualled, and therein placed strangers to defend it, and himselfe marches to the Towne of *Bristow*, where in a contention betweene the Citizens, and his people being put to the worse, hee sends for the Bishop of *Worcester* (an especiall partaker of the Barons) to protect, and conduct him backe. When he comes neere *Windsor*, he gets into the Castle, which the Earle of *Leicester* comes to besiege, and beeing about *Kingstone*, the Prince meetes him to treat of peace, which the Earle refuses, and layes siege to the Castle: that was rendred vnto him, the strangers turned out, and sent home into *France*.

17 Parliament held at *London*.—Scotish Lords come to ayde the King of *England*.—The King to get time conuokes another Parliament at *London*, wherein hee wonne many Lords to take his part, and with them (the Prince, *Richard Earle of Cornwall*, *Henry* his sonne, *William Valence* with the rest of his brethren lately returned) hee marches to *Oxford*, whither diuers Lords of *Scotland* repaire to him: as *John Comin*, *John Baliol*, Lord of *Galloway*, *Robert Bruce* and others, with many Barons of the North, *Clifford*, *Percy*, *Basset*, &c. From *Oxford* with all his Forces he goes to *Northampton*, where he tooke Prisoners, *Simon Monfort* the yonger, with fourteene other principal men: thence to *Nottingham* making spoile of such possessions, as appertained to the Barons in those parts. /

The Earle of *Leicester* in the meane time, drawes towards *London* to recouer and make good that part, as of chiefeft importance, and seekes to secure *Kent* and the Ports. Which hasts the King to stop his proceeding, and succour the Castle of *Rochester* besieged.

The Barons mediate a peace.—Successe and authority now growes strong on this side, in so much as the Earles of *Leicester* and *Glocester*, in behalfe of themselues, and their party write to the King, humbly protesting their loyalty, *And how they opposed onely against such as were enemies to him and the Kingdome, and had belyed them.* The King returnes answer; *how themselves were the perturbers of him and his State: enemies to his person, and sought his and the Kingdoms destruction, and therefore defies them.* The Prince, and the Earle of *Cornwall* send likewise their letters of defiance vnto them. The Barons notwithstanding doubtfull of their strength, or vnwilling to put it to the hazard of a battaile, mediate a peace, and send the Bishops of *London* and *Worcester* with an offer of 30. thousand Markes to the King, for damages done in these warres, so that the statutes of *Oxford* might bee obserued; which yeeldingnesse, the other side supposing to argue their debility, made them the more neglectiue and securer of their power, which commonly brings the weaker side (more watchfull of aduantages) to haue the better.

The battaile of *Lewis*. The King, Prince and others taken Prisoners.—The Earle, seeing no other meanes but to put it to a day (beeing a man skilfull in his worke) takes his time to bee earlier ready then was expected, and supplies his want of hands with his wit, placing on the side of a Hill neere *Lewis*, where this Battaille was fought, certaine ensignes without men, in such sort as they might seeme a farre off, to be squadrons of suckors to second those he brought to the encounter, whom he caused all to weare white-crosses, both for their owne notice, and the signification of his cause, which he would haue to be for Iustice. Here the Fortune of the day was his, the King, the Prince, the Earle of *Cornewall*, and his sonne *Henry*, the Earles of *Arundell*, *Hereford*, and all the Scottish Lords are his prisoners. The Earle *Warrein*, *William de Valence*, *Guy de Lusignian* the Kings brethren, with *Hugh Bigod*, Earle Marshall saue themselues by flight, fие thousand are slayne in

this defeite, which yet was not all the blood, and destruction this businesse cost.

1265. *Anno Reg. 49.* *Monfort* taxed of wrong. The Earle of *Glocester* leaues him.—All this yeare, and halfe of the other, is *Simon Monfort* in possession of his prisoners : the King he carries about with him to countenance his actions, till he had gotten in all the strongest Castles of the Kingdome. And now (as it vsually falls out in Confederations where all must be pleased or else the knot will dissolute) debate arises betweene the Earles of *Leicester* and *Glocester*, about their diuidend, according to their agreement. *Leicester* (as Fortune makes men to forget themselues) is taxed to do more for his owne particular, then the common good : to take to himselfe the benefit and disposition of the kings Castles : to usurpe the redemption of prisoners at his pleasure to prolong the businesse, and not to use the meanes of a Parliament to end it : his sonnes also presuming vpon his greatnes grow insolent, which made *Glocester* to forsake that side, and betake him to the Prince, who lately escaping out of the Castle of *Hereford*, had gotten a power about him of such as attended the opportunity of turning Fortune, and to reuenge the dishonour of one battaile by another.

The reuolt of this Earle brought many hands to the Prince, whereby many peeces of strength are regained, both in *England* and *Wales*. The Earle of *Leicester* to stop the proceeding of this mighty growing Prince (beeing now with his army about *Worceste*) imbattailes in a plaine neere *Evesham*, to encounter him ; and noting the manner of the approach of his army, said to those about him : *these men come brauely on, they learne it not of themselues, but of me.* And seeing himselfe likely to be beset, and ouerlaid with numbers, aduised his friends Hugh Spencer, Ralph Basset, and others to shift for themselues, which when he saw they refused to do : then sayd he, *Let vs commit our soules to God, for our bodies are theirs,* and so vndertaking the maine weight of the Battaile, perished vnder it. And with

him are slaine his sonne *Henry* and eleuen other Barons, with many thousands of common souldiers. At the instant of his death, there hapned so terrible a thunder, lightning and darknesse, as it gaue them as much horror, as their hideous worke.

The Earle *Monfort* slaine.—And so ends *Monfort* this great Earle of *Leicester*, too great for a subiect: which had hee / not beene, he might haue beene numbred amongst the worthiest of his time. Howsoeuer, the people which honoured, and followed him in his life, would (vpon the Fame of his miracles) haue worshipped him for a Saint after his death; but it would not bee permitted by Kings.

1266. *Anno Reg. 50. 18* Parliament held at *Winchester*. All who tooke part with *Monfort* dis-inherited.—And here this Battaile deliuers the Captiue King, (but yet with the losse of some of his owne as well as his subiects blood, by a wound casually receiued therein) and ridde him of his Iaylor *Monfort*, whom hee hated and long feared more then any man liuing, as himselfe confessed vpon this accident: passing one day (shortly after the Parliament at *Oxford*) vpon *Thames*, there hapned a suddaine clap of thunder, wherewith the King was much affrighted and willed presently to bee set on shore at the next landing, which was at *Duresme* house, where *Monfort* then lay, who seeing the King arriuing hasts downe to meeete him, and perceiuing him to be troubled at the storme, sayd, *That hee needed not now to feare, the danger was past.* No, *Monfort*, said the King, *I feare thee, more then I doe all the Thunder and tempest of the World.* And now the King with the victorious Prince, the redeemer of him and the Kingdome, repayres to *Winchester*, where a Parliament is conuoked, and all who adhered to *Simon Monfort*, are dis-inherited, and their estates conferred on others, at the Kings pleasure. The *Londoners* haue their liberties taken from them, *Simon* and *Guy de Monfort*, sonnes of the Earle of *Leicester*, with the dis-inherited Barons and others who escaped the Battaile of *Euesham* take

and defend the Isle of *Eley*. The Castle of *Killingworth* defended by the seruants of the late Earle, although it were in the heart of the Kingdome, endured the siege of halfe a yare against the King and his Army : In the end their Victualls fayling, they yeeld *vpon condition to depart, their liues, members and goods saued.* And it is worthy the note that we find no execution of blood, except in open battaile, in all these cumbustions, or any noble man to dye on a *Skaffold*, either in this Kings raigne, or any other since William the first which is now almost 300. yeares. Onely in Anno 26. of this King, *William Marise*, the son of *Geffery Marise* a Noble man of *Ireland*, being condemned of Pyracy and treason, was hanged, beheaded, and quartered ; and is the first example of that kinde of punishment wee finde in our Histories.

After the Parliament at *Winchester* the King goes with an Army against the dis-inherited Barons, and their partakers, which were many resolute, and desperate persons strongly fastned together. And being at *Northampton*, *Simon* and *Guy de Monfort*, by mediation of Friends, and promises of Fauour came in and submitted themselves to the King ; who, at the earnest suite of the Earle of *Cornewall* their Vnkle, and the Lord *Phillip Basset*, had restored them to their Estates, but for *Glocester*, and others who (doubting their spirits) wrought to hold them downe, where their Fortune had layde them. In so much as they were faine in the end to flye the Kingdome, and worke their Fortunes other where, which they did, the yonger in *Italy*, the elder in *France*: Where they were propagators of two great Families. Their mother was banished shortly after the battaile of *Euesham*. A Lady of eminent note, the daughter and sister to a King, nocent only by her Fortune, who from the Coronet of miserable glory, betooke her to the vaile of quiet piety, and dyed a Nun at *Montarges* in France.

Motions of peace made to the dis-inherited Lords. 1267.
Anno Reg. 51. The Earle of *Glocester* reuolts. 19 Parliament.—Three yeares after this, the dis-inherited Barons held out in

those fastnesses of the Kingdome where they could best defend themselues, made many excursions and spoyles to the great charge and vexation of the King; at length motions, and conditions of render are proposed, wherein the Councell are diuided. *Mortimer* now an eminent man in grace, with others stated in the possessions of the dis-inherited, are auerres to any restoration, alledging it *A great act of iniustice, for them to be forced to forgoe what the King had for their paines and fidelity bestowed on them, and the others iustly forfeited, and therfore would hold what they had.* *Glocester* with the twelue ordayne'd to deale for the peace of the State, and other his Friends which were many, stand mainely for restoration. This caused new pikes of displeasure, in so much as *Glocester*, who, conceiuing his turning, not so to serue his turne, as he expected, taking his time, againe changed foote: retires from the Court, refuses to come to the Kings Feast on *S^t. Edwards* day: Sends messengers to warne the King, *To remoue strangers from his Council, and obserue the prouisions of Oxford according / to his last promise made at Euesham; otherwise that he should not meruaile, if himselfe did what he thought fit.* Thus had Victory no peace, the distemprature of the time was such, as no sword could cure it; recourse is had to Parliament (the best way if any would serue, for remedy) and at *Bury* is the State conuoked, where likewise all who held by Knights seruice are summoned to assemble, with sufficient horse and armour for the vanquishing of those dis-inherited persons, which, contrary to the peace of the Kingdome, held the Isle of *Eley*.

John de Warreine Earle of Surrey, and William de Valentia, are sent to perswade the Earle of *Glocester* (who had now leuied an Army vpon the Borders of *Wales*) to come, in faire manner to this Parliament: which he refuses to do, but yet thus much the Earles had of him vnder his hand and seale: *Neuer to beare armes against the King, or his sonne Edward, but to defend himselfe, and pursue Roger Mortimer, and other his enemies,* for which he pretended to haue taken Armes.

The first demaund in the Parliament was made by the King and the Legat ; *for the grant of a Tenth of the Clergy for three yeares to come, and for the yeares past, so much as they gaue the Barons for defending the Coasts against the landing of strangers.* Whereto they answer, *that the War was begunne by vnjust desires, which yet continues, and necessary it were to let passe so euill demands, and so treat of the peace of the Kingdome; to conuert the Parliament to the benefit thereof, and not to extort money, considering the land had beene so much destroyed by this Warre, as it could hardly bee euer recovered.* 2. Then was it required, *that the Clergie might be taxed by lay men, according to the iust value of what appertained vnto them.* They answer, *it was no reason, but against all Iustice, that Lay-men should intermeddle in collecting Tenths, which they would neuer consent vnto, but would haue the ancient taxation to stand.* 3. Then was it required, *they should give the Tenth of their Baronies and Lay Fee, according to the vtmost value.* They answe: *themselves were impouerished by attending the King in his expeditions, and their lands lay vntild by reason of the Warres.* 4. Then it was required, *that the Clergy should in lieu of a Tenth, giue amongst them 30. thousand Markes to discharge the Kings debts contracted for Sicilia, Calabria, and Apulia.* They answe: *they would give nothing in regard all those taxations, and extorsions formerly made by the King, were neuer conuerted to his owne, or the benefit of the Kingdome.* 5. All this beeing denied, demaund is made, *That all Clergie-men that held Baronies, or other Lay-Fee should personally serue in the Kings Warres.* They answe: *they were not to fight with the materiall, but the spiritual sword, &c. that their Baronies were giuen of meere almes, &c.* 6. Then was it required, *the whole Clergy should discharge the 9000. pounds, which the Bishops of Rochester, Bathe, and the Abbot of Westminster stood bound to the Popes Merchants for the Kings seruice at their being at the Court of Rome.* They answe: *they neuer consented to any such lone, and therfore were not bound to discharge it.* 7. Then

the Legate, from the part of the Pope required, that without delay *predication should be made throughout the Kingdome to incite men to take the Crosse for the Holy Warre*: whereunto answere was made, that the greatest part of the people of the Land were already consumed by the sword, and that if they should undertake this action, few or none would be left to defend the Kingdome, and that the Legat hereby shewed a desire to extirpat the natives thereof, and introduce strangers. 8. Lastly, it was vrged, that the Prelates were bound to yeeld to all the Kings demaunds by their Oath at Couentrie; where they swore to ayde him by all meanes possible they could. They answere: that when they tooke that oath, they understood no other ayde, then spirituall and wholesome Councell. So nothing was obtained but denials in this Parliament.

The Legat, likewise employs sollicitors to perswade the dis-inherited L L. which held the Isle of Eley, to returne to the faith, and unity of the Church, the peace of the King, according to the forme prouided at Couentry, for redeeming their inheritances from such as held them by gift from the King for seuen years profits, and to leave of their robberies. The dis-inherited returne answer to the Legat. First, that they held the faith, they received from their Catholick Fathers, and their obedience to the Romane Church, as the head of al Christianity; but not to the auarice and wilfull exaction of those who ought to gouerne the same. And how (their Predecessors whose heires they were, hauing conquered this land by the sword) they held themselves vnjustly dis-inherited, that it was against the Popes mandat, they shold be so dealt withal. /

That they had formerly taken their Oath to defend the Kingdome and Holy Church, all the Prelates thundring the sentence of excommunication against such as withstood the same, and according to that Oath they were prepared to spend their liues. And seeing they warred for the benefit of the Kingdome, and Holy Church, they were to sustaine their liues by the goods of their enemies, who detained their Lands, which the Legat ought

to cause to be restored unto them, that they might not be driven to make depradation in that manner, which yet was not so great as was reported: for that many of the Kings and Princes followers made rodes, and committed great robberies which to make them odious, were imputed, and giuen out to be done by them: wherfore they wish the Legat to giue no credit to such reports; for if they should find any such amongst them, they would themselues do Justice vpon them without delay.

Besides they declare to the Legat, that he had irreuerendly elected out of the Kingdome the Bishops of Winchester, London, and Chicester, men circumspect and of deepe iudgement, whereby the Councell of the Kingdom was in great part weakned to the danger thereof, and therefore willed him to looke to the reformation of the same: and that they might be restored to their Lands without redemption. That the prouisions of Oxford might be obserued. That they might haue Ostages deliuered them into the Island to hold the same peaceably for fife yeares to come, vntill they might perceiue how the King would performe his promises.

The Earle of Gloucester reconciled.—Thus they treat, not like men whom their Fortunes had layd on the ground, but as they had beene still standing: So much wrought eyther the opinion of their cause, or the hope of their party. But this stubbornnes so exasperates the King, as the next yeare following, hee prepares a mighty Army, besets the Isle so that he shuts them vp, and Prince *Edward*, with bridges made on Boates enters the same in diuers places, and constraines them to yeelde. In the meane time the Earle of Gloucester, with his Army collected on the borders of Wales to ayde them, marched to London, where by the Citizens he was receiued: but the Legat who kept his residence in the Tower so preuayled with him, as he againe renders himselfe to the King to whom he was afterward reconciled, by the mediation of the King of Romans, and the Lord *Phillip Basset*, vpon forfeiture of twelue thousand Markes, if euer after he should raise any commotion.

This effected, the King goes with an Army into Wales,

against *Lewellin*, for ayding *Simon Monfort* and the Earle of *Glocester*, in their late attempts against him, but his wrath being by the gift of thirty two thousand pounds sterlinc, appeased, peace is concluded betwixt them, and foure Cantreds, which had by right of Warre, beene taken from him, restored.

And here was an end of the first Barons Warres of England, wherein we see what effects it wrought, how no side got but misery and vexation, whilst the one struggle to do more then it should, and the other to do lesse then it ought, they both had the worst, according to the vsuall euent of such imbroylements.

1269. Anno Reg. 53. Prince *Edward* his brother and others, vndertake the Holy Warre.—The next yeare after this appeasement, the Legat *Ottobon* signes with the Croissado both the Kings sonnes, *Edward* and *Edmond*, the Earle of *Glocester*, and diuers Noblemen induced to vndertake the Holy Warre by the sollicitation of him; and the King of *France*, who notwithstanding his former calamities indured in that action, would againe aduenture therein. So much eyther the desire of reuenge, with the recovery of his fame and honour, or the hope of enioying another World prouoked him to forgoe this, and hast to his finall destruction. And for that Prince *Edward* wanted meanes for his present Furnishment, this King of *France* lent him 30. thousand Markes, for which he morgaged vnto him *Gascoigny*. An act, which subtler times would interpret to be rather of Policy then Piety, in this King to ingage in such manner, and vpon so especiall a caution, a yong stirring Prince, likely in his absence to imbroyle his Estate at home, and to draw him along in the same aduenture with himselfe, without any desire otherwise, eyther of his company or ayde, considering the inconueniences that stung these seuerall Nations heretofore by their incompatability, in the same action; but here it were sinne to thinke they disguised their ends, or had other couerings for their designes then those through which they were seene; their spirits seeme to haue bin warmed with a Nobler flame.

21 Parliament at *Marleborough*.—And now whilst this preparation is in hand, King *Henry* labours to establish the Peace / of the Kingdome, and reforme those excesses the Warre had bred, causing by Proclamation *stealth of Cattell to be made a crime Capitall*; and the first that suffered for the same was one of *Dunstable*, who had stolne twelue Oxen from the inhabitans of *Colne*, and beeing persued to *Redburne* was by the Bayliffe of Saint *Albones* (according to the Kings Proclamation) Condemned and beheaded. And the same yeare the King assembles his last Parliament at *Marleborough* where the Statutes of that Title were inacted.

1271. *Anno Reg. 55.* The resolution of Prince *Edward*.—Neere two yeaeres it seemes to haue beene after the Vndertaking the Crosse before Prince *Edward* set foorth, a time long enough (if those resolutions would haue beene shaken) to haue bred an alteration of desire, but so strong was the current of this humour as no worldly respects could giue any the least stoppage thereunto. Otherwise a Prince so well acquainted with action, so well vnderstanding the World, so forward in yeaeres (being then thirty two), so neere the possession of a kingdome, would not haue left it, and an aged Father broken with dayes and trauayle, to haue betaken himselfe (with his deare and tender consort *Elioner*, and as it seemes then young with childe) to a Voyage that could promise nothing but danger, toyle, misery and affliction. So powerfull are the operations of the mind, as they make men neglect the ease of their bodies, especially in times not dissolued with those softnings of Luxury and Idlenessse which vnmanners them. And we cannot but admire the vndauntable constancy of this Prince, whom all the sad examples of others calamities (crossing euen the beginning of action) could not deterre from proceeding therein. For, first the king of *France* who with two of his sonnes, the king of *Nauarre* and a mighty Army, beeing set out before, and by the way besieging the City of *Tunis* in *Affrica* (possest then by the *Sarazines* that infested Christendome) perished miserably

by the Pestilence that raged in his Army, and with him one of his sonnes and many of his Nobles, whereby all their enterprise was dasht and vtterly ouerthowne. Besides, *Charles* king of *Sicile*, brother to this king of *France*, who likewise came to ayde him, returning home, lost the greatest part of his Nauy by tempest. Moreouer, many of this Princes owne people were desirous to leaue him and returne home. Whereupon he is sayd *To haue stricken his breast, and sworne: that if all his followers forsooke him, he would yet enter Tolemais or Acon, though but onely with his Horse-keeper Fowin.*

1272. Anno Reg. 57.—By which speech they were againe incenced to proceede; but yet his Cousen *Henry* son to the king of *Romans*, obtaines leaue of him to depart, and was set on shore in *Italy*: where, notwithstanding he found what he sought to auoyde, Death; and was slayne in the Church at *Viterbo* (beeing at Diuine Seruice) by his owne Cousen-German *Guy de Monfort* (sonne to *Simon* late Earle of *Leicester*) in reuenge of his Fathers Death. The newes of which vnnaturall murther seemes to hasten the end of *Richard* king of *Romans*, who dyed shortly after, and the next yeare following, finished likewise *Henry* the third of *England* his act, in the 65. of his age hauing Reigned 56. yeares, and 20. dayes. *A time that hath held vs long, and taken vp more then a tenth part from the Norman Invasion to this present; and yeelded notes of great variety with many examples of a crasie and diseased State, bred both by the inequality of this Princes manners, and the impatience of a stubborne Nobility.*

His issue.—Hee had by his Wife *Elioner* sixe sonnes, whereof onely two suruiued him, *Edward* and *Edmond*; and two daughters, which liued to bee married, *Margaret* the eldest to *Alexander* king of *Scots*, *Beatrice* the other to *Iohn* the first intituled Duke of *Brittaine*.

The end of the Life and Reigne of Henry the Third. |

The Life, and Reigne, of Edward the first.

1272. Anno Reg. 1.



Pon the Death of *Henry*, the State assembles at the New Temple, and Proclaims his sonne *Edward* King, though they knew not whether he were liuing, swears Fealty vnto him: causes a new Seale to be made; and appoynts fit Ministers for the custody of his Treasure, and his Peace, whilst himselfe remaynes in *Palestine*, where by an *Assasin* (making shew of deliuering letters) he receiues three dangerous wounds with a poysoned knife, whereof hee was hardly recured. After three yeares trauaile, from the time of his setting foorth, and many conflicts without any great effect, disappointed of his aydes, and his ends, he leaues *Acon* (which hee went to relieue) well fortified, and manned: returnes homeward, lands in *Sicile*, is royally feasted by *Charles* the King thereof: passes through *Italy*, with all the honour could bee shewed him, both by the Pope and the Princes there. Thence descends into *Burgogne*; where at the foot of *Alpes*, he is met by many of the Nobility of *England*, and there challenged by the Earle of *Chalboun* (a fierce man at Armes) to a Turneament: Wherein againe hee hazards his person to shew his valour, which may seeme to be more then became his Estate, and Dignity. From thence he comes downe into *France*, where he is sumptuously entayned, and feasted by *Phillip* the third (surnamed the *Hardy*) to whom hee doth homage for all the Territories he held of that Crowne.

His Coronation. 1274. Anno Reg. 3.—Thence he departs into *Aquitaine*, where he spent much time in setling his affaires. And after sixe yeares, from his first setting out, hee

returnes into *England*: Receiues the Crowne (without which hee he had beeene a King almost three yeares) at the hands of *Robert Arch-bishop of Canterbury* in *September 1275*. And with him is *Elioner* his Queene likewise Crowned at *Westminster*; *Alexander King of Scots*, and *John Duke of Brittaine*, (who both had married his Sisters) being present at the solemnity.

The spirit and abilities of this Prince shewed in the beginning of his Actions vnder his Father, after the great defeite hee gaue the Barons at *Evesham*: The prosecution of the dis-inherited Mutiners of the Kingdome: The exposition of his Person to all hazards, and trauaile: His single Combat with *Adam Gurdun* the Out-law neere *Farnham*: His great aduenture and attempts in the East: and finally his long experience in the affaires of the World, with his maturity of yeares (being about thirty ffe before hee came to the Crowne) might well presage what an able Master he would prooue in the mannage thereof. And how (by these aduantages of *Opinion* and *Reputation*) he was likely (as he did) to make a higher Improuement of the Royalty; hauing wonne, or worne out, the greatest of those who heretofore opposed the same. In so much as hee seemes the first Conqueror, after the Conqueror, that got the Domination of this State in that eminent manner, as by his gouernment appeares.

His proceeding against the Clergy.—And euen at his first Parliament, held shortly after his Coronation at *Westminster*, he made triall of their patience, and had the *fifteenth* of all their goods (*Clergy* and *Lay*) granted vnto him, without any Noyse as we heare off.¹ The *Clergy* hauing yeelded before a *Tenth* for two years to be paid him, and his brother *Edmond* towards the charge of the *Holy Warre*. But yet all this could not diuert the Designes he had to abate the power Ecclesiasticall,

¹ *Quintam Decimam omnium bonorum Temporalium tam Clericorum quā Laicorum in auditō more ad unguem taxatam Rex iusserat confiscari.—Ma. West.*

which by experience of former times, hee found to bee a part growne too strong for the Soueraignty, whensoeuer they combined with the *Lay Nobility*: And therefore now at first (whilst hee was in the exaltation both of opinion and estimation with the VVorld) hee beganne to set vpon their Priuileges. And in *Anno Reg. 6.* (to extend sayth the Monkish History, the Royall Authority) hee deprived many famous Monasteries throughout *England* of their liberties, and tooke from the Abbot and Couent of *Westminster* the Returne of Wrts granted them by the Charter of his Father King *Henry the third*. The next yeare after he got to be enacted the Statute of *Mortmaine*, to hinder the encrease of their temporall possessions (which made them so powerfull) as beeing detrimentall to the Kingdome, and the Military seruice / of the same. In the second Statute of *Westminster*, hee defalked the Iurisdiction of Ecclesiasticall Judges. He left not heere, but afterward growing more vpon them, hee required the Moety of all their goods, as well Temporall, as Spirituall, for one yeare: which (though it put them into extreame perplexity and grieve) they yet were faine to yeeld to his demaund. And at the first propounding thereof, one Sir *John Hauering* Knight stands vp amongst them, as they were assembled in the Refectory of the Monkes at *Westminster* (and sayd) *Reuerend Fathers, if any heere will contradict the Kings demaund in this businesse, let him stand out in the middest of the Assembly, that his Person may bee knowne, and seene, as one guilty of the Kings Peace.* At which speech they all sate mute. (*Mat. West.*) So much were the times altered since the late Reigne of the Father, wherein such a businesse could not haue so passed. But now this Actiue King being come home, and hauing composed his affayres abroad, must needes be working, both to satisfie his owne desire in amplifying his power, and entertayning his people in those times incompatible of rest; and therefore some action must bee taken in hand.

An occasion taken for subduing of *Wales*. 1276. *Anno Reg. 4.—Wales*, that lay neerest the danger of a superiour Prince, and had euer strugled for liberty, and the rule of a Natvie Gouernour, had alwayes beene the Receptacle, and ayde of the Rebellions of *England*: had euer Combined with *Scotland* to disturbe the peace, and gouernment thereof: Hauing neuer her borders without blood and mischiefe; was an apt Subject to bee wrought vpon in this time. And occasions are easily taken, where there is a purpose to quarrell, especially with an Inferiour. *Leoline*, now Prince of that Prouince, who had so long held in the fire of the late Ciuill Warres of *England* (and dearely payde for it) hauing refused vpon summons to come to the Kings Coronation, and after to his first Parliament, alleadged hee well remembred how his Father *Griffin* burst his necke out of the Tower of *London*; for which hee brooked not that place, and therefore returned answeare, *That in any other, vpon Hostages giuen him, or Commissioners sent to take his Fealty, hee wold (as it should please the King) bee ready to render it*. This gaue occasion that King *Edward* the next yeare after, goes with a Powerfull Army: Enters his Country with Fire and Sword in so fierce manner, as *Leoline* (vnable to resist) sues for Peace, and obtaynes it, but vpon those conditions, as made his Principality little different from the tenure of a Subject. And besides he was fined in fifty thousand pounds sterling, and to pay 1000. pounds *per Annum* for what he held, which was but for his owne life. But yet the King to gratifie him in some thing that might be a tye to this peace, restored vnto him *Elioner* (Daughter to *Simon Monfort* late Earle of *Leicester*) who, with her brother *Almericke* had beene lately taken Prisoners by certayne Ships of *Bristoll*, as shee was passing out of *France* into *Wales*, to be made the miserable VVife of this Vnfortunate Prince. Whose restraint and affliction might perhaps bee a motiue, the rather to incline him to this lownesse of submission, and accord: VVhich, as it was made by Force

(an vnsure contractor of Couenants) so was it by disdayne, as ill an obseruer, soone broken. And eyther the ill administration of Iustice vpon the Marches (the perpetuall Fire-matches of bordering Princes) or the euer-working passion of desire of Liberty in the VWelsh, threw open agayne (within three yeates) this ill infensed closure. And out is *Leoline* in armes ; surprizes the Castles of *Flint* and *Rutland* [Rhuddlan ?], with the person of the Lord *Clifford* sent Iusticiar into those parts ; and commits all acts of Hostility. With him joynes his brother *Dauid*, on whom King *Edward* (to make him his, finding him of a more stirring spirit) had bestowed, after the last accord, the honour of Knight-hood : matched him to the daughter of the Earle of *Derby*, a rich VViddow : and giuen him, in stead of his other lands, the Castle of *Denbigh* with 1000. pounds *per Annum*. All which graces could not yet hold him backe from those powerfull inclinations of Nature : *The ayding his Countrey, the partaking with his Brother, and the attempting of Liberty.*

1278. Anno Reg. 6.— King *Edward* aduertised of this Revolt (beeing at the *Vize* in *Wiltshire*) prepares an Army to represse it. But before his setting foorth, hee priuately goes to Visite his Mother Queene *Elioner* liuing in the Nunnery at *Amsbury* ; with whom whilst he conferred, / there was brought into the Chamber one who faigned himselfe (being blind) to haue receiued his sight at the Tombe of *Henry 3.* As soone as the King saw the man, he formerly knew him to be a most notorious lying Villaine. *And wished his Mother in no case to beleue him.* His Mother, who much rejoyced to heare of this Miracle (for the glory of her husband) grew suddenly into rage, *and willed the King to auoide her Chamber.* The King obeys, and going forth meetes with a Clergy man, to whom he tels the story of this Impostor, and merrily sayd, *He knew the Iustice of his father to be such, that he would rather pull out the eyes (being whole) of such a wicked wretch, then restore them to their sight.*

1283. Anno Reg. 11. The death of *Leoline* the last of the Welsh Princes.—The Archbishop of *Canterbury* (to whom the Welsh had before sent a Roll of their grieuances, and the causes that draue them to reuolt) of himselfe goes, and labours to bring in *Leoline*, and his brother to a resubmission, and stay the ruine which he foresaw would light vpon the Nation. But nothing could hee effect; certaine petty defects *Leoline* had giuen to the *English*; the instigation of his people; the conceit of a Prophecie of *Merlin* (that *Ginne of Errour*) how he should shortly be *Crowned with the Diademe of Brute*; so ouerweighed this poore Prince, as he had no eare for Peace, and shortly after no head; the same being cut off (after he was slaine in battaile) by a common souldier, and sent to King *Edward*. Who (as if his death were not sufficient without his reproach) caused the same to be crowned with Iuie, and set vpon the Tower of *London*. This was the end of *Leoline* the last of the Welsh Princes, betrayed (as they write) by the men of *Buelth*.

The Execution of *Dauid* his brother at *Shrewsbury*, the first in that kind.—Shortly after, to finish this worke of blood, is *Dauid* his brother taken in *Wales*, and iudged in *England* to an ignominious death. First drawne at a horse tayle about the City of *Shrewsbury*, then beheaded, the Trunke of his Body deuided, his Heart, and Bowels burnt, his head sent to accompany that of his Brothers on the Tower of *London*, his foure quarters to foure Cities, *Bristoll*, *Northampton*, *Yorke*, and *Winchester*: a manifold execution, and the first shewed in that kinde to this kingdome, in the person of the sonne of a Prince, or any other Nobleman, that we read of in our History.

The death of the Prince *Alphonsus*.—But this example made of one, and another, grew after to be vsuall to this Nation. And euen this King (vnder whom it began) had the blood of his owne, and his brothers race, miserably shed on many a scaffold. And iust at the sealing of this Conquest, *Alphonsus*

his eldest sonne of the age of twelue yeeres (a Prince of great hope) is taken away by death. And *Edward*, lately borne at *Carnaruon* (an infant, vncertaine how to prooue) his heire to the Kingdome ; and the first of the *English* intituled (*Prince of Wales*) whose vnnaturall destruction, we shall likewise heare of in his time.

Wales vnted to *England*.—But thus came *Wales* (all that small portion left vnto the *Brittaines* the auncient possessours of this Isle) to be vnted to the Crowne of *England*, Anno. Reg. 11. And straunge it is how it could so long subsist of it selfe, as it did ; hauing little or no ayde of others ; little or no shipping (the hereditary defect of their Auncestors) no Alliance, no confederation, no intelligence with any forraine Princes of power out of this Isle : and being by so potent a Kingdome as this, so often inuaded, so often reduced to extremitie, so eagerly pursued, almost by euery King, and sayd, to have beene (by many of them) subdued, when it was not ; must needs shew the worthinesse of the Nation, and their noble courage to preserue their liberty. And how it was now at last gotten, and vpon what ground we see ; But the effect prooues better then the cause, and hath made it good. For in such Acquisitions as these, the *Sword* is not to giue an Account to *Justice*; the publicke benefite makes amends. Those miserable Mischiefes that afflicted both Nations come heereby extinguished. The Diuision and Plurality of States in this Isle, hauing euer made it the Stage of blood, and confusion : as if Nature that had ordained it but one Peece, would haue it to be gouerned but by one Prince, and one Lawe, as the most absolute glory and strength thereof, which otherwise it could neuer enjoy. And now this prudent King (no lesse prouident to preserue then subdue this Prouince) established the gouernment thereof / according to the Lawes of *England*, as may be seene by the Statute of *Rutland*, Anno Reg. 12.

1286. Anno Reg. 13.—This worke effected and setled, King

Edward passes ouer into *France* (vpon notice of the Death of *Phillip le Hardy*) to renue and confirme such conditions, as his State required in those parts with the new King *Phillip* the fourth (intituled *le Bel*) to whom hee doth Homage for *Aquitaine*, hauing before quitted his claime to *Normandy* for euer. And afterwards accommodates the differences betweene the Kings of *Sicile* and *Arragon* in *Spaine* (to both of whom he was allied) and redeemes *Charles* entituled Prince of *Ashaia* (the sonne of *Charles* King of *Sicile*) Prisoner in *Arragon*, paying for his ransome thirty thousand pounds.

1289. Anno Reg. 16.—After three yeares and a halfe beeing abroade, he returns into *England*, which must now supply his Coffers emptyed in this Voyage. And occasion is giuen (by the generall complaunts made vnto him of the ill administration of Iustice in his absence) to inflict penalties vpon the chiefe Ministers thereof; whose manifest corruptions the hatred of the people to men of that Profession (apt to abuse their Science, and Authority), the Necessity of reforming so grieuous a mischiefe in the Kingdome, gaue easie way thereunto by the Parliament then assembled; wherein, vpon due examinations and proove of their extortions, they are fined to pay to the King these summes following.

Sir *Ralph Hengham* a Chiefe Commissioner for the gouernment of the Kingdome in the Kings absence. Officers fined for bribery and extortion.—First Sir *Ralph Hengham* Chiefe Iustice of the higher Bench, seuen thousand Markes: Sir *John Louston* Iustice of the lower Bench, three thousand Markes. Sir *Willam Bromton* Iustice 6000. Markes. Sir *Solomon Rochester* foure thousand Markes. Sir *Richard Boyland* 4000. Markes. Sir *Thomas Sodington* two thousand Markes. Sir *Walter Hopton* 2000. Markes: These foure last were Iustices Itinerants. Sir *William Saham* 3000. Markes. *Robert Lithbury* Master of the Rolles 1000. Markes. *Roger Leicester*, 1000. Markes. *Henry Bray* Escheater, and Judge for the Iewes 1000. Markes. But Sir *Adam Stratton* Chiefe

Baron of the Exchequer was fined in 34000. Markes And *Thomas Wayland* (found the greatest delinquent, and of the greatest substance) hath all his goods and whole estate Confiscated to the King. Which were it but equall to that of Sir *Adam Stratton*, these fines beeing to the Kings Coffers aboue one hundred thousand Markes ; which, at the rate (as money goes now) amounts to aboue 300. thousand Markes. A mighty Treasure to be gotten out of the hands of so few men. Which, how they could amasse in those dayes, when Litigation and Law had not spred it selfe into those infinite wreathings of contention (as since it hath) may seeme strange, euen to our greater getting times. But peraduenture now the number of Lawyers, being growne bigger then the Law (as all trades of profit come ouer-pestered with multitude of Traders) is the cause that (like a huge River dispersed into many little Rilles) their substances are of a smaller proportion, then those of former times, and Offices now of Iudicature peraduenture more piously executed.

The Banishment of the Iewes. His many supplies and meanes for money.—Of no lesse grieuance, the King the next yeare after eased his people, by the Banishment of the Iewes ; for which the Kingdome willingly granted him a Fifteenth. Hauing before (in *Anno Reg. 9.*) offered a fifth part of their goods to haue them expelled, but then the Iewes gaue more, and so stayed till this time, which brought him a greater benefit by Confiscating all their Immoouables with their Talleis, and obligations which amounted to infinite Value. But now hath hee made his last commodity of this miserable people, which hauing beene neuer vnder other couer then the Will of the Prince, had continually serued the turne in all the necessary occasions of his Predecessors, but especially of his Father and himselfe. And in these reformations that are easfull, and pleasing to the State in generall ; the Iustice of the Prince is more noted, then any other motiue, which may be for his profit. And howsoeuer some particular men suffer (as some

must euer suffer) yet they are the fairest, and safest wayes of getting: in regard the hatred of the abuses, not only discharges the Prince of all imputation of rigour, but renders him more beloued and respected of his people. And this King, hauing much to doe for money (comming to an empty Crowne) was driuen to all shifts possible to get it, and great supplies wee finde, hee had already drawne / from his subiects. As in the first yeare of his Raigne, Pope *Gregory* procured him a Tenth of the Clergy for two yeares; besides a Fifteenth of them, and the Temporality. In the third likewise another Fifteenth of both. In the fifth, a Twentieth of their goods towards the Welsh Warres. In the seauenth the old Money was called in, and new coyned in regard it had beene much defaced by the Iewes, for which 297. were at one time executed at *London*, and this brought him in a great benefit. In *Anno Reg. 8.* seeking to examine mens Titles to their Lands, by a Writ of *Quo Warranto* (which opposed by the Earle *Warreine*, who drew out his Sword vpon the Writ, saying, *How by the same he held his Land, and thereby would make good his Tenure*) the King desists and obtaines a fifteenth of the Clergy. In the eleauenth, hee had a thirtieth of the Temporality, and a twentieth of the Clergy for the Welsh Warres. In the thirteenth, Escuage, forty shillings for euery Knights Fee for the same purpose. In the fourteenth, hee had a thousand Markes of certayne Merchants fined for false Weights. In the seauenteenth, those fines fore-declared of the Judges. In the eighteenth, this confiscation of Iewes, and a fifteenth of the English. After this *Anno Reg. 19.* pretending a Voyage to the Holy Land, the Clergy grants him an eleauenth part of all Mooueables, and shortly after the Pope procures him a tenth for sixe yeares to be collected in *England, Scotland and Ireland*, and layd vp in Monasteries vntill hee were entred into *Mare Maggior*. But hee made the Collectors pay him the money gathered for three yeares without going so farre, hauing occasion to vse it at home, about the purchase of a new Kingdome.

1290. *Anno Reg. 17.* The occasion of his Warres with *Scotland*. King *Edward* chosen by the Scots to arbitrate the right of the pretenders to that Crowne.—For, the Crowne of *Scotland* (vpon the death of King *Alexander*, and of the daughter of his daughter *Margaret*, who was to inherit) was now in controuersie. Sixe Competitors pretend title thereunto, all descending from *Dauid Earle of Huntingdon*, younger brother to *William King of Scots*, and great Vnkle to this late King *Alexander*. This title King *Edward* takes vpon him to decide, pretending a right of Superiority from his Ancestors ouer that Kingdome. The *Scots* which swayed the *Interregnum*, are constrainyd for auoyding further inconueniences, to make him Arbitre thereof, and the sixe Competitors bound to stand to his Award. Two are especially found, betweene whom the Right lay: *John Baliol Lord of Galloway*, and *Robert Bruce*: the one descending from an elder Daughter, the other from a sonne of a younger Daughter of *Alan*, who had married the eldest Daughter of this *Dauid*, brother to King *William*. The Controuersie held long. Twelue of eyther Kingdome learned in the Lawes, are elected to debate the same at *Barwicke*: All the best *Civilians* in the Vniuersities of *France*, are sollicited to giue their opinions, the differences, and perplexednes whereof made the decission more difficult: According to the Nature of Litigation, that euer begets rather Doubts then Resolutions, and neuer knowes well nor certainly how to make an end.

1291. *Anno Reg. 18.* Queene *Elioner* dyes. Her Praye.—King *Edward*, the better to sway this businesse by his presence, takes his Iourney Northward, and whilst hee sought to compasse greater Felicity, hee lost the better part of what he had in this World, his deare consort *Elioner* (who had euer attended him in all his Fortunes, the Paragon of Queenes, and the honour of Woman-hood: Who is sayd to haue sucked the poyson out of the wound giuen him by the *Assassin* in the East, when no other meanes could preserue his life) dyes

by the way in *Lincolneshire*. With whose Corpse, in extreame grieve hee returnes backe to *Westminster*, causing (at all especiall places where it rested by the Way) goodly engrauen Crosses, with her Statue to be erected. As at *Stamford*, *Waltham*, *West-cheape*, *Charing* and others, gratefull Monuments of his affection, and her renowned Faithfulnesse.

Scottish History. *Baliol* made King of *Scotland*. 1294. *Anno Reg. 21.*—Her Funeralls performed, backe hee returnes to his Scottish businesse: And now sixe yeares it was since the Death of King *Alexander*, and much time hauing beene spent, and nothing concluded in this controuersie: King *Edward* that would bee sure (whosoeuer preuayled) to haue the hand that should make him, deales priuately with *Bruce* (who had the weaker Title but the more friends) and promises him, if hee would yeld *Fealty* and *Homage* to the Crowne of *England*, hee would inuest him in that of *Scotland*. *Bruce* answeres, *He was not so desirous of Rule, as thereby to infringe the Liberties / of his Countrey*. Then with the like offer hee sets vpon *Baliol*, who hauing better right but lesse loue of the people, and more greedy of a Kingdome then honour, yeldes thereunto; is Crowned King at *Scone*: hath *Fealty* done him of all the Chiefe Nobility, except *Bruce*: Comes to *New Castle upon Tine* where King *Edward* then lay; and there (with many of his Nobles) sweares *Fealty*, and did *Homage* vnto him, as his Soueraigne Lord. Which Act, as hee thought done to secure him, ouer-threw him. For, being little beloued before, heereby hee became lesse: such as stood for *Bruce*, and others of the Nobilitie (more tender of the preseruation of their Countryes liberty) grew into Stomacke against him; as hauing not onely discontented them in this Act, but shortly after in his Iustice, in the case of the Earle of *Fife*, one of the sixe Gouernours in the time of the *Anarchy*, who had beene slaine by the Family of *Alberneth*. And the brother of this Earle now prosecuted in Law, before the King *Baliol* in his high Court of Parliament (where hauing no right done him,

King *Baliol* giuing Iudgement on the side of the *Alberneths*) the wronged Gentleman appeals to the Court of the King of *England*. King *Baliol* is thither summoned: appeares, sits with King *Edward* in his Parliament till his cause was to be tryed, and then is hee cited by an Officer to arise and stand at the place appoynted for pleading: Hee craues to answer by a Procurator: it is denied: then himselfe arises, and discends to the ordinary place, and defends his cause.

Baliol discontented returns into *Scotland*. 1296. Anno Reg. 23. The occasion of the wars between *England* and *Scotland*.—With which Indignity (as hee tooke it) hee returns home, with a breast full charged with indignation: Meditates reuenge, renewes the Ancient League with *France*: Confirms it with the marriage of his sonne *Edward* with a daughter of *Charles* brother to King *Phillip*, glad, in regard of late offences taken against the King of *England*, to embrace the same: Which done, *Baliol* defies King *Edward*; renounces his Allegiance as vnlawfully done, beeing not in his power (without the consent of the State) to doe any such act. Heereupon brake out that mortall dissention betweene the two Nations (which during the raigne of the three last Scottish Kings had helde faire correspondence together) that consumed more Christian blood; wrought more spoyle, and destruction, and continued longer then euer quarrell we read of did betweene any two people in the World. For hee that beganne it, could not end it. The Rancor which the Sword had bred, and the perpetually-working desire of Reuenge of wrongs (that euer beget wrongs,) lasted almost three hundred yeares. And all the Successors of this King (euen to the last, before this blessed Vnion) haue had their shares more or lesse in this miserable affliction, both to their great expence of treasure, and extreame hindrance in all other their designes. Although the intention of this great and Marshall King, for reducing this whole Isle vnder one gouernement, was Noble, and according to the Nature of power, and greatnessse, that euer seekes to

extend it selfe as farre as it can : Yet all such Actions hath much of iniquity, so had this, and wee see it was not force or the Sword could effect it. God hath fore-decreed to make it his owne worke by a clearer way, and ordayned it for an vnstayned hand to set it together in peace, that it might take the more sure, and lasting holde, which otherwise it could neuer haue done. Violence may ioyne Territories, but neuer affections together ; which onely must grow voluntary, and be the worke of it selfe. And yet no doubt it was in the designe of this King to haue obtainyd it in the fairest manner hee could. As first shewes his seeking to match his sonne *Edward* with *Margaret* daughter to the King of *Norway*, grand-childe, and heire to the last King *Alexander*, who (dying an Infant soone after her Grand-father) disappoyned his hopes that way ; and draue him to haue recourse to his Soueraignty, which beeing opposed, hee was forced to take the way of Violence, both to maintayne his owne honour, and to effect what hee had begunne. Whereof the miserable euent were such, as now we may well spare their memory, and bee content those bloody Relations should bee razed out of all Record ; but that they serue to shewe vs the woefull calamities of our separation, and the Comfortable Blessings wee enioy by this our happy Vnion. Neyther doth it now concerne vs to stand vpon any poynts of Honour, whether of the Nations did the brauest exploytes in those times, seeing'who had the better was beaten, / neyther did the ouer-commer Conquer, when hee had done what hee could : That little which was gayned, cost so much more then it was worth, as it had beeene better not to haue beeene had at all. And if any side had the Honour, it was the inuaded Nation, which beeing the Weaker, and Smaller, seemes neuer to haue beeene subdued, though often ouer-come : Continuing (notwithstanding all their miseries) resolute to preserue their Liberties ; which neuer People of the World more nobly defended, against so Potent, and rich a Kingdome as this, by the which, without an admirable hardinesse, and Constancy, it

had beene impossible, but they must haue beene brought to an vtter consternation.

King *Edward* combines with other Princes. An Army sent into *France*. Another into *Scotland*.—For all what the Power of this Kingdome could doe (which then put all the strength to doe what it could) was shewed in this Kings time: Who now (vpon this defection of King *Baliol*, and his League made with *France*) Counter-leagues with all the Princes he could draw in, eyther by gifts or Alliance, to strengthen his party abroade. As first with *Guy Earle of Flanders*, with whose Daughter hee seekes to match his Sonne *Edward*. Then with *Adolph de Nassaw* the Emperour, to whom he sends fifteene thousand pounds Sterling to recouer certayne lands of the Empire which *Adolph* claymed in *France*: He had likewise married one of his Daughters to the Duke of *Barr*, who pretends Title to *Champaigne*, another to *John Duke of Brabant*: All which, with many other confining Princes, hee sets vpon the King of *France*; who had (for Certayne spoyles committing on the Coast of *Normandy*, by the English, and no redresse obtained) summoned King *Edward*, as owing Homage to that Crowne, to appeare and answere it in his Court, which hee refusing to doe, is by an Arrest condemned to forfeite all his Territories in *France*: And an Army is presently sent foorth to seize vpon the same, led by *Charles de Valois*, and *Arnold de Neele Constable of France*. *Burdeaux* with diuers other Peeces of importance are taken, and fortified. For the recouery whereof, the King of *England* sends ouer his Brother *Edmond Earle of Lancaster*, the Earles of *Lincolne* and *Richmond*, with eight and twenty Banners, seauen hundred men at Armes, and a Nauie of three hundred and sixty Sayle.

1297. *Anno Reg. 24.*—And notwithstanding all this mighty charge, and Forces employed in those parts, King *Edward* sets vpon King *Baliol* (refusing vpon Summons to appeare at his Court at *New Castle*, standing vpon his owne Defence)

and enters *Scotland* with an Army sufficient to Conquer a farre mightier Kingdome, consisting of foure thousand men at Armes on Horse, and thirty thousand Foote, besides ffe hundred Horse, and one thousand Foote of the Bishop of *Duresme*: intending heere to make speedy worke, that he might afterward passe ouer Sea to ayde his Confederates, and bee reuenged of the King of *France*.

King *Edward*'s Victories in *Scotland*.—*Barwicke* is first wonne with the death of fifteene thousand *Scots*, (our Writers report more, but nothing is more vncertayne then the number of the slayne in Battailles); and after that the Castles of *Dunbarre*, *Roxborough*, *Edenborough*, *Sterling*, and Saint *Johns* Towne were wonne or yeelded vnto him: King *Baliol* sues for peace: Submits himselfe; takes agayne his Oathe of Fealty to King *Edward* as his Soueraigne Lord. Which done, a Parliament for *Scotland* was held at *Barwicke*, wherein the Nobility did likewise Homage vnto him, confirming the same by their Charter vnder their Hands and Seales. Onely *William Douglass* refuses, content rather to endure the misery of a Prison, then yeelde to the subiection of *England*. King *Baliol* (notwithstanding his submission) is sent Prisoner into *England*, after his foure yeares dignity, I cannot say Raigne: For it seemes hee had but little power, and King *Edward* returnes from this expedition, leauing *John Warrein* Earle of *Surrey* and *Sussex*, Warden of all *Scotland*, *Hugh Cressingham* Treasurer, and *Ormesly* Chife Justice, with Commission to take in his name, the Homages, and Fealties of all such as helde Lands of that Crowne.

1298. Anno Reg. 25.—And heere this Conquest might seeme to haue beene effected, which yet was not. It must cost infinite more Blood, Trauayle and Treasure, and all to as little effect. And now the French businesses (that require speedy helpe) are wholly intended. For which King *Edward* calls a Parliament at Saint *Edmonds Bury*, wherein the Citizens, and Burgesses / of good Townes granted the eighth part of their

goods, and other of the people a twelfth part. But the Clergy (vpon a prohibition from Pope *Boniface*, that no Tallage or Imposition, layde by any Prince, vpon whatsoeuer appertayned to the Church should bee payd) absolutely refuse to giue any thing. Which Prohibition may seeme to haue beene produced by themselves, in regard of the many Leuyes lately made vpon the estate Ecclesiasticall. As in *Anno Reg. 22.* they payed the moety of their goods : of which the Abbay of *Canterbury* yeelded 596. pounds 7 shillings and 10. pence ; and besides furnished sixe horses for the Sea-coasts. This Leauy as *Stow* notes in his Collection, amounted to sixe hundred thousand pounds. And in *Anno Reg. 23.* the King seized into his hands all the Priories Aliens, and their goods. Besides he had a Loane of the Clergy, which amounted to 100. thousand pounds, whereof the Abbot of *Bury* payed 655. pounds.

The King puts the Clergy out of his protection.—Notwithstanding now, vpon this their refusall, the King puts the Clergy out of his protection, whereby they were to haue no Iustice in any of his Courts (a strayne of State beyond any of his Predecessours), which so amazed them beeing exposed to all offences and iniurys whatsoeuer, and no meanes to redresse themselues, as the Archbishop of *Yorke*, with the Bishops of *Duresme, Eley, Salisbury, Lincolne*, yeelded to lay downe in their Churches the fifth part of all their goods, towards the mayntenance of the Kings Warres : whereby they appeased his wrath, and were receiued into grace. But the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* by whose animation the rest stood out, had all his goods seized on, and all the Monasteries within his Diocesse and part of *Lincolne*, taken into the Kings hands, and Wardens appoynted to minister onely necessaries to the Monkes, conuerting the rest to the Kings vse. At length by much suite, the Abbots, and Priests giuing the fourth part of their goods, redeeme themselues, and the Kings fauour. Thus will Martiall Princes haue their turnes serued by their Subiects, in the times of their Necessities, howsoeuer they oppose it.

The Lords refuse to goe to *Gascoigny* except the King went in person.—During this contract with the Clergy, the King calles a Parliament of his Nobles at *Salisbury*, without admission of any Church-men ; wherein, *Hee requires certayne of the great Lords to goe vnto the Wars of Gascoigne*, which required a present supply, vpon the death of his brother *Edmond* who (hauing spent much Treasure, and time in the siege of *Burdeaux* without any successe), retires to *Bayon*, then in possession of the *English*, and there ends his life. *But they all making their excuses, every man for himselfe ; the King in great anger threatned they should either goe, or hee would giue their lands to others that should.* Wherupon Humphrey Bohun Earle of Hereford high Constable, and Roger Bigod Earle of Norfolke Marshall of England, make their declaration, that if the King went in person they would attend him, otherwise not Which answeres more offends, and beeing vrged agayne : *The Earle Marshall protested hee would willingly goe thither with the King, and march before him in the Vantgard, as by right of inheritance he ought to doe.* But the King told him plainly hee should goe with any other, although himselfe went not in Person. I am not so bound said the Earle, neither will I take that iourney without you. The King swore by God, Sir Earle you shall goe or hang. And I sweare by the same oath, I will neyther go, nor hang, sayd the Earle ; and so without leave departs. (*Mat. West.*)

The French King invites the Earle of *Flanders* to *Paris*, and there imprisons him. The French invade *Flanders*.—Shortly after, the two Earles assembled many Noblemen, and others their friends to the number of thirty Bannerets, so that they were fifteene hundred men at Armes well-appoynted, and stood vpon their owne guard. The King like a prudent Prince who knew his times, prosecutes them not as then, but lets the matter passe : In regard that both his businesse in *France*, and the pressing necessity of ayding his Confederates (whereon his honour, and whole estate abroad depended) called him ouer into *Flanders* ; which the King of *France* had now invaded ;

pretending the same Title of Soueraignty to that Prouince, as King *Edward* did to *Scotland*. And hauing had intelligence of the intended Alliance, and other designes of the Earle *Guy*, sends for him (as if knowing nothing thereof) to come with his Wife and Daughter, to make merry with him at *Paris*: where in steed of Feasting, hee makes him prisoner, and takes from him his Daughter, in regard he sought being his vassall, to match her to the Sonne of his Capitall enemy. The Earle excuses it the best he could, and by much mediation is released, and / suffered to depart, but without his Daughter: Of whose surprize, and detention (contrary to the Law of Nations) he complaines to the Pope, and other Princes, who earnestly vrge the release of the young Lady, but all in vayne; and there-upon this Earle (presuming on the ayde of his Confederates) takes armes, and defies the King of *France*. Who now comes with an Army of sixty thousand against him; which caused the King of *England* to make what speed hee could, to relieu this distressed Earle, and to leauie all his other businesses at home in that broken estate which hee did; the *Scots* in reuolt, and his owne people in discontent. For which yet hee tooke the best order hee could: Leauing the administration of the Kingdome during his absence to the Prince, and certayne especiall Councillors, as the Bishop of *London*, the Earle of *Warwicke*, the Lord *Reginald Gray* and *Clifford*, and besides, to recouer the Clergy receiuied the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* into fauour.

This Roll of grieuances is recorded by *Tho. Wa.* 1299.
Anno Reg. 26.—And being ready now to take ship, the Arch-bishops, Bishops, Earles, Barons, and the Commons send him in a Roll of the generall grieuances of his Subiects: *Concerning his Taxes, Subsidies, and other Impositions; with his seeking to force their seruices, by vnlawfull courses: his late impost layd of forty shillings upon euery sacke of Wooll, being before but halfe a Marke, estimating the Wooll of England, to a fift part of all the substance thereof.* The King sends answer, that he could not

alter any thing without the aduise of his Councell, which were not now about him; And therefore required them, seeing they would not attend him in this Iourney (which they absolutely refused to doe though he went in Person, unlesse he had gone into France or Scotland) that they would yet doe nothing in his absence preiudicall to the peace of the Kingdome. And that vpon his returne, hee would set all things in good order as should be fit.

King Edward passes ouer into *Flanders* to the aide of the Earle *Guy*. A Parliament held at *Yorke* in the absence of the King.—And so with 500. Sayle, eighteene thousand men at Armes, he puts out for this journey, wherein Fortune shewed him, how she should not be alwayes his: For contrary to his expectation he found the Country of *Flanders* distracted into popular factions; a rich and proud people, who though they were willing to ayde their Prince, and defend their Lyberties (which they respected more then their Obedience) yet would they not be commanded otherwise then themselues pleased. And now the King of *France*, dayly getting vpon them (hauing wonne *Lisle*, *Doway*, *Courtray*, *Burges*, and *Dam*; and the Emperour *Adolph* fayling of his ayde and personall assistance, as vn-interessed confederates often doe, especially hauing receiued their gage before hand (as had this Emperour to the summe of 100. thousand Markes), draue the King of *England* into great perplexity, and held him within long delayes, to his extreame trauayle and expences: which forced him to send ouer for more supply of Treasure, and giue order for a Parliament to be held at *Yorke* by the Prince, and such as had the manage of the State in his absence. Wherein, for that hee would not bee disappoyned, he condiscends to all such Articles as were demaunded concerning the great Charter: Promising from thence-foorth neuer to charge his Subjects otherwise then by their consents in Parliament, and to pardon such as had denied to attend him in this journey. For which the Commons of the Realme granted him the ninth penny of their goods: The Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, with the Clergy

of the Province, the Tenth penny: *Yorke*, and his Province, the Fifth: so the Kings instant wants are relieved, and the Kingdome satisfied for a present shift. But it is not well with a State, where the Prince and people seeke but to obtayne their seuerall ends, and worke vpon the aduantages of each others necessities: for as it is vn-sincere, so it is often vnsuccessefull, and the good so done hurts more, then it pleasures.

The *Gantois* take armes against the English. King *Edward* in danger. Hee returns into *England*. The History of *France*.—The King thus supplyed, stayes all this Winter in *Gauent*, where his people committing many outrages, so exasperates the *Gantois*; as they tooke armes, made head against them, slew many, and put the Kings person in great danger: so that, doe what the Earle *Guy* and himselfe could to appease them, in satisfying such, as had receiued wrong, and giuing the rest fayre words, he hardly could escape safe out of the Countrey; which rather desired to haue the English commodities, then their Companies. This was the successe of his journey into *Flanders*, which hee leaues at the Spring of the yeare, hauing concluded a truce with the King of *France* for two yeares. And the / poore Earle *Guy* left to himselfe is shortly after made the prey of his enemy, and his Prisoner in *Paris*; where he and his daughter both dyed of griefe. And *Flanders* is reduced to a possession, though not to the subiectio[n] of the King of *France*. For after they had receiued him for their Lord, his exactions and oppressions vpon them, contrary to their auncient Liberties, so armed the whole people, being rich and mighty, as they gaue *France* the greatest wound that euer before it receiued at one blow; which was at the famous battell of *Courtray*, where the Earle of *Artoise* Generall of the Army, *Arnold de Neel* Constable of *Fraunce*, and all the Leaders with Twelue thousand Gentlemen were slaine. And to shew what the King of *France* got, by seeking to attaine this Soueraigntie of *Flanders* (as well, as we shall heare of the

King of *Englands* getting vpon *Scotland* for the same title), it is recorded in their Histories, that in the space of Eleuen yeeres, this quarrell cost the liues of a hundred thousand *French* men. Besides it draue the King likewise to consume the substances of his people, as well as their blood, and to loade them with new impositions, as that of *Malletoste* and the Tenth *Denier* vpon *liure* of all Merchandises, which in the Collection bred great outcries, and dangerous seditions among his subiects: And these were the fruits of these great attempters.

1300. *Anno Reg. 27.* King *Edward* prosecutes his Scottish businesse. *William Wallace* animates the Scots against the subiection of *England*.—Now for King *Edward* of *England*, he presently after his returne, falles anew vpon *Scotland*, which in his absence had beaten his officers, and people almost out of the Countrey, slaine Sir *Hugh Cressigham* with 6000. English: recouered many Castles, and regained the Towne of *Berwick*. And all by the annimation and conduct of *William Wallace* a poore priuate Gentleman (though Nobly discended) who seeing his Countrey without a Head, and thereby without a Heart (all the great men either in Captiuitie or subiection) assembles certaine of as poore and desperate estate as himselfe, and leades them to attempt vpon whatsoeuer aduantages they could discouer, to annoy the *English*. And hauing therein good successe, it so increased both his Courage and Companie; as he afterwards comes to be the Generall Gardian of the whole Kingdome: Leadeth their Armies; effects those great Defeits vpon the Enemie: and was in possibilite to haue absolutely redeemed his Countrey, from the subiection of *England* (had not some priuate Emulation amongst themselues, and the speedie comming of King *Edward*, with all his power) preuented him. So much could the spirit of one braue man worke, to set vp a whole Nation vpon their feete, that lay vtterly cast downe. And as well might hee at that time haue gotten the Dominion for himselfe, as the place he had: but

that he held it more glory to preserue his Countrey, then to get a Crowne. For which he hath his immortall honour; and whatsoeuer praise can be giuen to meere Vertue, must be euer due to him.

King *Edward* remooues his Exchequer and Courts of Iustice to *Yorke*. And now King *Edward* to bring his worke neere together, remooues his *Exchequer* and Courts of Iustice to *Yorke*: where they continued aboue sixe yeares. And thither cals he a Parliament, requiring all his subiects that held of him by Knights seruice, to be ready at *Roxborough* by a peremptorie day: where are assembled three thousand men at Armes on barded Horses, and foure thousand other armed men on Horse without bards, with an Army on foote answerable, consisting most of *Welsh* and *Irish*: besides, Fiue hundredth men at armes out of *Gasconie*, and with power makes he his second expedition into *Scotland*.

The famous battell of *Fonkirke*. The *Scots* ouerthowne.—The Earles of *Hereford* and *Norfolke*, notwithstanding their former contempts, attend him. And although hee were thus girt with all this strength, and in the midst of his mightinesse, they vrge the ratifications of Two Charters, and their Pardons: which they held not sufficient to secure them, in regard the King was out of the Realme, at the late graunting thereof. The Bishop of *Duresme*, the Earles of *Surrey*, *Warwicke*, and *Glocester* vndertooke for the King, that after he had subdued his Enemies, and was returned, hee should satisfie them therein. And so these two Earles with the Earle of *Lincolne*, led his Vauntguard at the famous Battaile of *Fonkirke*, which the King of *England* gat, wherein are reported to be slaine 200. Knights, and Fortie thousand foote of the *Scots*. But *William Wallace* with some few escaped to make more worke. /

A Parliament at St. *Andrewes*.—And here againe that Kingdome might seeme, as if quite ouer-come. Most of the estates of the Earles, and Barons of *Scotland* (with their Titles)

that had stood out, were bestowed on the English Nobility, to make them the more egar to maintayne and prosecute this Conquest. And a Parliament is called at Saint Andrewes, where all the great men of that Kingdome (except onely Wallace) againe sweare Fealty to the King of *England*.

The *Scottish* Writers inueigh against the tyranny of King *Edward*.—The *Scottish* Writers heere set a wide marke of Tyranny vpon King *Edward* in this expedition, *As not content to carry away Captiue all such as might seeme to haue any the least ability to stirre; but also endeauours to extinguish if it were possible, the very memory of the Nation: abolishing all their ancient Lawes, traducing their Ecclesiasticall rights, to the custome of England: dispoiling them of their Histories: their instruments of State; their Antique Monuments, left either by the Romanes, or erected by themselues: transporting all their Bookes and Booke-men into England: Sending to London the Marble stone, wherein (as the *Vulgar* were perswaded) the Fate of the Kingdome consisted; and left them nothing that might either incite them to remember their former fortune, or instruct generous spirits in the way of vertue and worthines.* So that he bereaued them not only of their strength, but of their minds: supposing thereby to establish a perpetuall Domination ouer that Kingdome.

A Parliament at *Westminster*. — This journey ended, a Parliament is called at *Westminster*, wherein the promised confirmation of the Two Charters, and the allowance of what disforrestation had heeretofore beene made, was earnestly vrged, and in the end with much a doe granted, with omission of the Clause, *Salvo Iure Coronæ nostræ*, which the King laboured to haue inserted, but the people would not indure the same: the perambulation of the Forrests of *England* is committed to three Bishops, three Earles and three Barons.

1301. Anno Reg. 28.—In this little pause of Peace at home, a Concord is, by the mediation of Pope *Boniface*, concluded with the King of *France*: Whose sister *Margaret*, the King of

England takes to Wife in the sixty two yeares of his age (something too late for so young a Match) and the Daughter of the same King is likewise affianced to the Prince. And thereupon restitution made of what had beeene vsurped by the French King in *Gascoigny*. *Burdeaux* returnes to the obedience of the King of *England* (to the Merchants of which City he payd 150. thousand pounds for his brother *Edmonds* expences in the late Wars), and all is well on that side. Besides the same Pope obtayned permission, for *John Baliol* the Captiue King of *Scots* to depart and liue in *France* vpon certayne lands he had there, and vnderooke for his obseruation of the Peace, and his confinement ; who short after dyes, hauing had little joy of a Crowne, or scarce leisure to know he was a King. The Decrying and calling in of a certayne base Coyne named *Crocard* and *Pollard*, with the new stamping them againe, yeelded something to the Kings Coffers : which must bee emptied in *Scotland*, whether agayne (hauing beeene scarce Eighteene Moneths at home) he makes his third expedit, but did little, besides the regayning of *Sterling Castle* which held out three moneths siege against all his power, and Ingines reared with infinite charge and labour. And in the end not won but yeelded vp by the Defendant *William Oliuer*, vpon promise which was not kept with him. The rest of the *Scots* made no head, but kept in the Mountaynes and Fastnesses of their Countrey, whereby the Kings Army hauing more to do with barrennesse then men, suffered much affliction and many Horses were starued.

Now vpon this Peace with *France*, the *Scots* beeing excluded and hauing none to relieue them, send their lamentable complaynts to *Pope Boniface*, Shewing him the afflicted state of their Country : the usurpation of the King of England vpon them, and his most tyrannicall proceeding with them, contrary to all right and equity. Protesting they neuer knew of any Soueraigntie hee had ouer them, but that they were a free Kingdome of themselues ; and so at first hee dealt with them, vpon

the Death of their last King Alexander, both in the treaty of the marriage for his sonne Edward, with Margaret, heir of Scotland : and also after her death for the decision of the Title, wherein hee sought by their consents to be made Arbitor, as he was. Howsoever afterward they were constrained to gie way to his will ; yet, what they euer yeelde unto was by reason they were otherwise vnable to resist, &c. Vpon this remonstrance of the Scots, the Pope writes his powerfull Letters to / the King of England, to forbear any further proceeding against them ; clayming withall, the Soueraigntie of that Kingdome, as belonging to the Church.

The King answeres the Popes Letters at large.¹—*Alledging from all Antiquity, how the direct and superior Dominion of Scotland, had euer appertayned to this Crowne, euen from Brute to his owne time :* And withall, the whole Nobility write to the Pope, avowing the same right. *And absolutely conclude that the King their Lord should in no sort undergo his Holinesse iudgement therein.* Neither send his Procurators (as was required) about that businesse, whereby it might seeme that doubt were made of their Kings Title, to the preiudice of the Crowne, the Royall Dignity, the Liberties, Customes and Lawes of England ; which by their oath and duty they were bound to obserue, and would defend with their liues. Neither would they permit, nor could, any vnusuall, unlawfull, and detrimentall proceeding. Nor suffer their King, if he would, to doe, or any way to attempt the same. And therfore besought his Holinesse to intermeddle no more in this matter. These Letters subscribed with all their names were dated at Lincolne ; where, then was held the Parliament *Anno Domini 1301.*

The Pope vpon this answer, or rather hauing his hands full of other businesse, stirres no more in this. The King of France whom he had excommunicated, and giuen away his

¹ The copie of this lrē is enroled in y^e Tower of London. I did there reade it vpon the Records. [Early MS. note in my 1626 folio.—C.]

Kingdome to the Emperour *Albert of Austrich*, shortly after so wrought, as his *Spiritualty* was surprized at *Anagne* a City of *Abruzzo*, whither he was retyred from the troubles of *Rome*: and so violently treated by *Sciarra Colonesse*, a *Banditto* of *Rome*, and *Nogoret*, and *Albigioye* (whom he had both persecuted) as in extreame rage and anguish, within few dayes after he ends his turbulent life.

1305. *Anno Reg. 32.*—And the King of *England* (hauing beene supplied, with a fifteenth vpon Confirmation of the *Charters* againe, at the Parliament at *Lincolne*) hee makes his fourth expedition into *Scotland*, and as it were the fourth Conquest thereof, hauing had foure times Homage and Fealty sworne vnto him. VVhich might seeme sufficient to confirme his Soueraignty, whereof now he rests secure, and home returnes in Tryumphant manner: Remoues his *Exchequer* from *Yorke*: Feasts his Nobility at *Lincolne* with all Magnificence: From thence he comes to *London*, and renders solemne thankes to *God* and Saint *Edward* for Victory. Which to make it seeme the more intire, shortly after, *William Wallace* (that renowned Guardian of *Scotland*, betrayed by his Companion) is sent vp Prisoner to *London*: adjudged according to the Lawes of *Englund*, to be drawne, hangd and quartered, for his treasons committed against the King (whom at his Arraignement he would not yet acknowledge to be his King) protesting neuer to haue sworne Fealty unto him.

The case of Sir *Nicholas Segraue*.—Thus suffered that worthy man for the defence of his owne in a strange Countrey, and remaines amongst the best examples of Fortitude and Piety in that kinde. And now King *Edward*, being (as he supposed) at an end of all his businesse: an uniuersall Lord at home: strong in Alliance, and Peace abroad; beginnes to looke more seuerely to the gouernment of this Kingdome, and to draw profit out of those disorders, which the Licence of Warre and Trouble had bred therein. And first, amongst other examples of his power (which it seemes hee would haue

equall to his will) is the case of Sir *Nicholas Segraue*, one of the greatest Knights then of the Kingdome; who being accused of Treason by Sir *John Crombwell*, offers to iustifie himselfe by *Duell*, which the King refuses to grant, in regard of the present VVarre then in hand. VVhereupon *Segraue* without Lycence, and contrary to the Kings prohibition, leaues the Kings Campe, and goes ouer Sea to fight with his enemy, for which the King (as against one that had not onely contemned him, but as much as in him lay exposed him to death, and left him to his enemies) would haue Justice to proceede against him. Three dayes the Judges consulted of the matter, and in the end adjudged *Segraue* guilty of death, and all his moueables and immoueables forfeited to the King. Notwithstanding in regard of the greatnessse of his blood, they added, hee went not out of *England* in contempt of the King, but onely to be reuenged of his accuser, and therefore it was in the Kings power to shew mercy vnto him in this case. The King hereto in great wrath replyed, haue you beene all this while consulting for this? I know it is in my power / to conferre grace, and on whom I will to haue Mercy, but not the more for your sakes then for a Dogge. VVho hath euer submitted himselfe to my grace, and had repulse, but let this your Judgement bee Recorded, and for euer held as a Law. And so the Knight for example and terrour to others, was committed to prison, though shortly after by the labour of many Noble men of the Kingdome, thirty of his Peeres girt with their swords standing out to be bound body for body, and goods for goods to bring him foorth whensoeuer hee should bee called; the King restored him to his Estate. (*Mat. West.*)

The inquisition of *Trailbaston*.—Shortly after, the King likewise sends out a new Writ of inquisition, called *Trailbaston*. For Intruders on other mens Lands, who to oppresse the right owner would make ouer their Land to great men: For *Batterers* hyred to beate men; For *Breakers* of the Peace; For *Rauishers*, *Incendiaries*, *Murtherers*, *Fighters*,

False Assisors, and other such Malefactors. Which Inquisition was so strictly executed, and such fines taken, as it brought in exceeding much Treasure to the King. So did likewise another Commission the same time sent foorth to examine the behauour of Officers, and Ministers of Iustice, wherein many were found Delinquents, and payed dearely for it. Informers here, as fruitfull Agents for the *Fiske* (and neuer more employed then in shifting times) were in great request. Besides these meanes for Treasure aboue ground, this King made some profit of certayne siluer Mynes in *Deuonshire*, as is to be seene in *Hollingshead*, but it seemes the charge amounting to more then the benefit, they afterwards came dis-continued.

1306. Anno Reg. 33.—The King likewise now begins to shew his resentment, of the stubborne behauour of his Nobles towards him in times past ; and so terrifies *Roger Bigod Earle Marshall*, as to recouer his Fauour, the Earle made him the Heire of his Lands (though he had a brother living) reseruing to himselfe a Thousand pounds pension *Per Annum*, during his life. Of others likewise, hee got great summes for the same Offence. The Earle of *Hereford* escapes by death. But the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* (whom he accused to haue disturbed his peace in his absence) he sends ouer to Pope *Clement* the fist (who succeeded *Boniface*) that he might be crusht with a double power. This Pope was Native of *Bordeaux*, and so the more regardfull of the Kings desire, and the King more confident of his fauour ; which to entertaine and increase he sends him a whole Furnish of all Vessels for his Chamber, of cleane gold : which great gifte so wrought with the Pope, as he let loose this *Lyon*, vntyed the King from the couenants made with his Subiects concerning their Charters confirmed vnto them by his three last Acts of Parliament, and absoluued him from his oath : an Act of little Piety in the Pope, and of as little conscience in the King, who (as if he should now haue no more neede of his Subiects) discouered with what sincerity hee granted what hee did.

Bruce murthers *John Comyn* in the Church.—But suddainly hereupon there fell out an occasion that brought him backe to his right Orbe againe, made him see his error and reforme it, finding the loue of his people lawfully ordred to be that which gaue him all his power and meanes he had, and to know how their subsistances were intermutuall. The news of a new King made, and Crowned in *Scotland* was that which wrought the effect hereof. *Robert Bruce* Earle of *Carrick*, son to that *Robert* who was competitor with *Baliol*, escaping out of *England*, becomes head to the confused body of that people, which, hauing bin so long without any to guide them, any intire Councell, scattered in power, dis-united in mind, neuer at one together, were cast into that miserable estate as they were. For had they had a King as well as their enemies to haue led them, held them together, and managed their affaires accordingly, that which they did in this distraction, shews how much more they would haue done otherwise. And therefore no sooner did *Bruce* appeare in his designe, but he effected it: had the Crowne, and hands ready to help him at an instant; and that before rumour could get out to report any thing of it. Although *John Comyn* his cousin-German being a Titeler himself, a man of great loue and alliance in *Scotland*, wrote to haue bewrayed *Bruces* intention to the King of *England*, in whose Court they both had liued, and were his Pensioners. But *Bruce* (as great / vndertakers are euer awake, and ready at all houres) prevents him by speed; and eyther to be auenged on him for his falsehood, or rid of him as a Competitor, finding him at *Dumfries*, sets vpon and murthers him in the Church.

King *Edward* sends and prepares for *Scotland*.—Which foundation layd on blood (the Place, the Person, and the manner making it more odious) much stayned his beginning, and effected not that security for which hee did it, but raysed a mighty party in *Scotland* against him. King *Edward* (though so late acquaynted heerewith, as hee could not bee

before hand with him, yet would hee not bee long behind to ouertake him) sends *Amyer de Valence* Earle of *Pembroke*, the Lords *Clifford* and *Percy* with a strong power to relieve his Wardens of *Scotland*, who vpon his Reuolt were all retyred to *Berwicke*, whilst himselfe prepares an Army to follow. Wherein to be the more free, and Nobly attended, Proclamation is made, that whosoeuer ought by their paternall succession, or otherwise had meanes of their owne for service, should repayre to *Westminster* at the *Feast of Penticost*, to receyue the Order of Knight-hood, and a Military ornament out of the Kings Ward-Robe.

The Prince giues the honor of Knighthood to 300. Gentlemen.—Three Hundred young Gentlemen, all the Sonnes of Earles, Barons, and Knights, assemble at the appointed day, and receiue Purples, Silkes, Sindons, Scarfs wrought with gold or siluer, according to euery mans estate: For which trayne (the Kings house being too little, by reason a great part thereof was burnt vpon his comming out of *Flanders*) roome is made, and the Apple Trees cut downe at the New Temple for their Tents, where they attyre themselues and keepe their Vigil. The Prince (whom the King then likewise Knighted, and girt with a Military Belt, as an Ornament of that Honour; and withall gaue him the Dutchy of *Acquitaine*) kept his Vigile with his trayne at *Westminster*, and the next day girds these three Hundred Knights with the Military Belt, in that manner as himselfe receyued it. At which Ceremony the Presse was so great, as the Prince was fayne to stand vpon the high Altar (a place for a more Divine Honour) to performe this: Which beeing solemnized, with all the State and Magnificence could be devised, the King before them all makes his vowe, that aliuie, or dead, hee would reuenge the death of *Cumyn* vpon *Bruce*, and the perjured *Scots*: Adjuring his sonne, and all the Nobles about him vpon their Fealty, that if hee dyed in this Iourney, they should carry his Corpes with them about *Scotland*, and not suffer it to be interred, till they had

Vanquished the Vsurper, and absolutely subdued the Country : A desire more Martiall then Christian, shewing a minde so bent to the World, as he would not make an end when hee had done with it, but designes his Trauayle beyond his life.

1307. *Anno Reg. 34.* A great execution made of the Scots.—The Prince, and all his Nobles promise vpon their fayth to employ their vtmost power to performe his Vowe, and so vpon grant of the *Thirtieth peny of the Clergy and the Laity*, and the *twentieth* of all Merchants, hee sets foorth with a Potent Army presently vpon *Whitsontide* and makes his last expedition into *Scotland*, *Anno Reg. 34.* The Earl of *Pembroke*, with that power sent before, and the ayde of the Scottish partie (which was now greater by the partakers of the Family of *Cumyn*, beeing many, mighty, and egar to reuenge his death) had, before the King arriued in *Scotland*, defeated in a battle neere St. *Johns* Towne, the whole Army of the new King, and narrowly missed the taking of his Person : Who escaping in disguise recovered an obscure shelter, and was reserued for more, and greater battailes : His brother *Nigell Bruce*, and shortly after *Thomas* and *Alexander* a Priest, were taken and executed after the manner of *Traytors* at *Berwicke* ; so that King *Edward* at his comming, had not so much to doe as hee expected. But yet he passed ouer the Country, to shew them his power, and to terrifie his enemies, causing strict inquisition to bee made for all who had been ayding to the murther of *Cumyn*, and the advancement of *Bruce*. Many, and great Personages are found out (beeing impossible amongst a broken people for any to remayne undiscovered) and were all executed in cruell manner to the terrour of the rest. The age of the King of *England*, his choler, wrath and desire of reuenge made him vowe inexorable, and to spare none of what degree soever they were. The Earle of *Athol* (though of the Royall Blood, and allied vnto him) was sent to *London*, and preferred to a higher Gallowes / then any of the rest. The Wife of *Robert Bruce* taken by the Lord *Rosse* is sent prisoner

to *London*, and his daughter to a Monasterie in *Lindsey*. The Countesse of *Boughan* that was ayding at the Coronation of *Bruce* is put into a wooden Cage, and hung out vpon the wals of *Berwicke*, for people to gaze on.

Which rigorous proceeding rather exasperates the Enemie, and addes to the partie of *Bruce*, then any way quailed it: *desperation* beeing of a sharper edge, then *hope*. And though *Bruce* now appeared not, but shifted priuily from place to place, in a distressed manner (attended onely with two noble Gentlemen, who neuer forsooke him in his fortunes, the Earle of *Lenox*, and *Gilbert Hay*) yet still expectation, loue, and the well-wishing of his friends went with him, and so long as he was aliue they held him not lost; this affliction did but harden him for future labours: which his enemies (who now neglected to looke after him, as either holding him dead, or so downe as neuer to rise againe) found afterward to their cost. For this man, from being thus layde on the ground, within few yeares after, gets vp to giue the greatest ouerthrow to the greatest Army that euer the *English* brought into the field, and to repay the measure of blood in as full manner as it was giuen.

A Parliament at *Carliel*. The King and Pope deuide the benefit of the Clergie.—All this Summer the King spends in *Scotland*, and Winters in *Carliel*, to be readie the next Spring if any fire should breake out, to quench it. For resolued he is, not to depart, till he had set such an ende to this worke, as it should neede no more. And heere hee holds his last Parliament, wherein the State was mindfull of the Popes late action, gotte manie Ordinances to passe for reformation of the abuses of his Ministers, and his owne former exactions; who beeing but poore, sought to get where it was to bee had: wringing from the elect Arch-bishop of *Yorke* in one yeare nine thousand ffe hundredreth Markes: And besides, *Anthony* Bishop of *Duresme* to bee made Patriarke of *Ierusalem*, gaue him and his Cardinals mightie summes. This Bishop *Anthony* is sayd to haue had in purchases, in inheritances, ffe thousand

Markes *per annum*, besides what belonged to his Myter : which shewed the Pope the riches of this Kingdome, and moued him to require the fruites of one yeares reuenue, of euery Benefice that should fall voyde in *England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland*; and the like of Abbayes, Priories, and Monasteries : which though it were denied him, yet something he had ; the King and he diuiding it betwixt them. The Pope graunted the King the Tenth of all the Churches of *England* for two yeares : and the King yeelded that the Pope should haue the first fruites of those Churches. And the better to effect this busynesse, the Pope makes an errand, and sends *Petrus Hispanus* Cardinall, *a Latere* to call vpon the King for consummation of the Marriage betweene Prince *Edward*, and *Isabell* daughter to the King of *France*. And this Cardinall got something, but not so much as he expected.

King *Bruce* recouers newe forces.—Whilst they were thus busie at *Carliel*, about the opening of the Spring, opens himselfe the hidden King *Robert Bruce*, and with some forces hee had gotten together, suddenly assayles the Earle of *Pembroke* at vnawares, and gaue him a great defeit ; and within three dayes after chases the Earle of *Glocester* into the Castle of *Ayr*, where he besieged him, till by the Kings forces, he was driuen againe to his former retire. But this shewed, that so long as he was (in what estate soeuer he was) there would be no end of this Warre.

King *Edward* enters *Scotland* and dies there. 1307. *Anno Reg. 35.*—Which caused King *Edward* to send out his first commaundement, that whosoeuer ought him seruice should presently, vpon the Midsommer after, attend him at *Carliel*. And withall he sends the Prince to *London*, about the busynesse of his Marriage. In July, although hee found himselfe not well, hee enters *Scotland* with a fresh Armie, which hee ledde not farre ; for falling into a *Dissenterie*, he dyes at *Borough* vpon the Sands, as if to shew on what foundation hee had built all his glorie in this world ; hauing Reigned thirtie and

soure yeares seuen monethes, aged sixtie eight. A Prince of a generous spirit, wherein the fire held out euen to the very last ; borne and bred for action and Militarie affaires, which hee managed with great iudgement : euer wary, and prouident for his owne businesse : watchfull and eager to enlarge his power : and was more for the greatnessse of *England*, then the quiet thereof. And this we may iustly / say of him, that neuer King before, or since, shed so much Christian blood within this *Isle of Brittaine*, as this Christian Warrior did in his time, and was the cause of more in that following.

His Issue.—He had issue by his first Wife Queene *Elioner* foure sonnes, whereof onely *Edward* suruiued him, and nine daughters : *Elioner* married first to *John Earle of Bar*; *Ioan* to *Gilbert Clare Earle of Gloucester*; *Margaret* to *John Duke of Brabant*. *Mary* liued a Nun in the Monastery of *Amsbury*. *Elizabeth* married first to *John Earle of Holland*, after to *Humphrey Bohun Earle of Hereford*, the rest dyed young. He had by his second Wife two sonnes *Thomas* surnamed *Brotherton* which was *Marshall* and *Earle of Norfolke*, and *Edmond Earle of Kent*.

The Life, and Reigne, of Edward the first.

The Life, and Reigne, of Edward the second.

1307. Anno Reg. I.



*E*ward of Carnarvon, remooued more then one degree from the Father in heighth of Spirit, and neerer the Grand-father in flexibility, and easinessse of Nature (which made him apt to be taken) began his Raigne in *July 1307*, in the three and twentieth yeare of his age. A Prince which shewes vs what confusion and mischiefe attends ryot, disorder, neglect of the State, and

aduancing vnworthy or ill-disposed Minions to the preiudice of others, the grieve of his people, and the diminution of the Royall Maiestie. And though his youth might somewhat excuse the first sicknesse of his priuate Fauours, yet those often Relapses of his shewed it was an habituall indisposition in the whole estate of his minde, not to be cured.

King Edward the first, imprisoned his son, and exiled *Pierce Gaueston* Anno Reg. 33. *Pierce Gaueston* recalled and preferred by the king.—Neuer was Prince receiued with greater loue, and opinion of all, or euer any that sooner lost it. For his very first actions discouered a head-strong wilfulness that was vncouncellable: Whereof the entertayning agayne his old Companion *Pierce Gaueston* was one, whom the Father had banished the Kingdome, finding him to haue corrupted the youth of his Sonne, and leade him to commit many ryots: Amongst which was the breaking of the Parke of the Bishop of *Chester*, for which hee both imprisoned his sonne, and exiled *Gaueston*. Besides this Prouident King (as if fore-seeing the mischiefe might ensue) at his Death charged his sonne (vpon his blessing) neuer to recall or entertaine *Pierce Gaueston* agayne about him, and required the Lords (who were present) to see his Will obserued therein: VVhich notwithstanding, hee brake before his Fathers Funeralls were performed; and not only entertaynes but inuests *Gaueston* in the Earledome of *Cornwall*, and the Lordship of *Man*; being both of the Demaines of the Crowne, and makes him his chiefe Chamberlaine. Then to be reuenged on the Bishop of *Chester* his Fathers Treasurer (who had abridged his expences, and complayned of him for his Ryot) hee caused him to be arrested, committed to Prison, and seises vpon all his goods, which he gaue to *Gaueston*: makes a new Treasurer of his owne: remooues most of all his Fathers Officers; and all without the aduice or consent of his Councell, which gaue them their first discontent, and bewrayed his disposition.

A Parliament at *Northampton* held before the Coronation.

The Marriage of king *Edward* solemnized at *Bologne*. *Gaueston* corrupts the King. The Lords are displeased with *Gaueston*.—Before his Coronation, a Parliament was held at *Northampton*, wherein was ordayned, that the Monies of his Father (notwithstanding the people helde them base), should bee Current ; and a Fifteenth of the Clergy, a Twentieth of the Temporalty is there granted. After the Funeralls performed at *Westminster*, hee passes ouer to *Bologne*, where his Nuptialls with *Isabell*, Daughter to *Phillip le Bel*, are sumptuously Solemnized, at which were present the King of *France*, the King of *Nauarre*, his Sonne, the King of *Almaine*, the King of *Sicile*; and three Queenes besides the Bride, with an extraordinary concourse of other Princes. At which Feast *Gaueston* is sayde to haue exceeded them all in brauery and daintiness of attire, wherewith afterward he infected the Court of *England*. A mischiefe the most contagious to breed Consumption in a State, that can be introduced. For, the imitation thereof presently distends it selfe ouer all, and passes beyond the example, and at length all meanes to maintaine it. And / had hee done no other hurt to the Kingdome then this, it had beene enough to haue made him (as hee was) odious thereunto. But besides, he afterwardes filled the Court with Buffons, Parasites, Minstrels, Players, and all kinde of dissolute persons to entertaine, and dissolute the King with delights and pleasures. Whereby hee so possest him, as he regarded no other company, no other exercise, but continually, day and night spent his time, and treasure in all wantonnesse, ryot, and disorder, neglecting the affaires of the State : and the company and counsell of all the rest of the Nobles : who assembling together (at the instant, when he was to be crowned with his Queene at *Westminster*, Anno Reg. 2.) require him that *Gaueston* might be remoued from out the Court, and Kingdome ; otherwise they purposed to hinder his Coronation, at that time. Whereupon the King to auoide so great a disgrace, promises on his faith, to yeeld to what they desired in the next Parliament ; and the

solemnity with much festination and little reuerence is performed. Wherein *Gaueston* for carrying Saint *Edwards* Crowne before the King, aggrauates the hatred of the Clergy, and Nobility against him.

The Knights-Templers arrested and committed to prison. Their dissolution.—Shortly after his Coronation, all the Knights-Templars throughout *England* are at once arrested, and committed to prison. They were an order of Knights instituted by *Balduin* the fourth King of *Ierusalem* about 200. yeares past, and first appointed for the defence of that Citty, and the safe conueying of all such as trauailed thither: afterwards they were dispersed through all the Kingdomes of Christendome, and by the piouſ bounty of Princes, and others, enriched with infinite possessions, which made them to degenerate from their first institution, and become execrably vicious. So that all the Kings of Christendome at one instant (combining together) caused them to be apprehended within their Dominions, and put out of their order, and estates. The King of *France* began, hauing a purpose to make one of his sons King of *Ierusalem*, and possesse him of their reuenues. Their accusation followes their apprehension, and condemned they are (rather by fame then prooſe) in the generall Councell at *Vienna*; as appeares by the condemnatory *Bull of Pope Clement the third*: wherein he hath this clause, *Quanquam de iure non possumus, tamen ad plenitudinem potestatis, dictum ordinem reprobamus*. Their estates are after giuen to the *Hospitaliers*.

The Lords prosecute *Gaueston*. 1310. Anno Reg. 3. A Parliament. The king takes his Oath to ratifie whatsoeuer Articles the Lords would conclude in Parliament.—These businesses passed ouer, the Lords prosecute their purpose against *Gaueston*, whose insolency, and presumption vpon the Kings fauour, made him so farre to forget himselfe, as he scorned the best of them all, as much as they hated him. Tearingm *Thomas Earl of Lancaster* the *Stage player*: *Aymer de Valence* Earle of *Pembrook*, *Ioseph the Jew*: and *Guy Earle of Warwickke*,

the blacke dogge of Ardern: Which scoffes, leauing behinde them the sting of reuenge (especially where they touch) drewe such a party vpon him, as in the next Parliament, the whole Assembly Humbly besought the King to aduise, and treate with his Nobles, concerning the State of the Kingdome, for the auoiding of eminent mischiefe, likely to insue through neglect of gouernment; and so farre vrges the matter, as the King consents thereunto, and not onely graunts them libertie to draw into Articles what was requisite for the Kingdome, but takes his Oath to ratifie whatsoeuer they should conclude. Whereupon they elect certaine choyce men both of the Clergie, Nobilitie, and Commons, to compose those Articles. Which done, the Arch-bishop of Canterbury, lately recalled from exile, with the rest of his Suffragans, solemnly pronounce the sentence of Excommunication against all such who should contradict those Articles, which are there publickly read before the Barons and Commons of the Realme, in the presence of the King. Amongst which the obseruation and execution of Magna Charta is required, with all other ordinances necessary for the Church and Kingdome. And that as the late King had done, all Strangers should be banished the Court, and Kingdome, & all ill Councillors remoued. That the busines of the State should be treated on by the Councell of the Clergy, and the Nobles. That the King should not begin any war, or go any way out of the Kingdome, without the common councell of the same.

Gaueston banished into Ireland. Gaueston recalled.—Which Articles though they seemed harsh to the King, yet to auoide further trouble he yeelds vnto them, but especially to the banishment of his Minion, as if that would excuse him for all the rest; and away is he sent into Ireland, where he liued a while, not as a man exiled, but as the Lieutenant of the Countrey. The King not enduring / to be without his company, neuer ceased working till hee had recalled him backe againe: which within a few moneths after he did. And to make him (as hee thought) to stand the faster on his feete, he marries

him to his Neece (the daughter of *Ioan de Acres*) sister to *Gilbert de Clare* Earle of *Glocester*, a man beloued and highly esteemed of all the Nobility : for whose sake he hoped *Gaueston* should find the more fauour amongst them : but all this could not shelter him. Either his behaumour, or their malice was such as they could not indure to haue him about the King, who by making him so great, lessened him, and the more he was enriched, the worse was his estate. The subiects spectators of their Kings immoderate gifts, held it to be taken out of the bowels of the Common-wealth, and as it were of their substance that was so wasted. For it is reported, the King gaue him the Iewels of the Crowne, which he sold to Merchant-strangers, and conueyed much treasure out of the Kingdome, wherby the King sustained great wants, and the Queene is abridged of her allowance : whereof she complaines to the King of *France* her father.

The Lords threaten the King. *Gaueston* againe banished. *Gaueston* returns. The Lords take Armes.—These stingues put the Barons on to send plaine word to the King, *That unlesse he put from him Pierce Gaueston, and obserue the late Articles, they would all with one consent rise in armes against him, as a periured Prince.* The King (whom they found was apt to be terrified) yeeldes againe vpon this message, to the banishment of his Minion : whose fortune beeing to haue a weake maister, was driuen to these sudden extreamities, and disgracefull expulsions, at their will who were his enuiers ; and who now obtaine this Clause ; *That if hereafter he were found againe within the Kingdome he should be condemned to death as an enemy to the State.* *Ireland* was now no more to protect him : *France* most vnsafe for him (wait being there laid to apprehend him) in *Flanders* he lurks a while, but in great danger : and finding no where any security, backe againe he aduentures vpon *England*, and into the Kings bosome (the sanctuary he thought would not be violated) hee puts himselfe, and there is he receiued with as great ioy as euer man could

be. And to be as farre out of the way and eye of enuy as might be, the King carries him into the North parts, where notwithstanding, the Lords shortly after found him out. For no sooner had they heard of his returne, and receiuing into grace, but they presently combine and take Armes, electing *Thomas Earle of Lancaster* for their Leader. This *Thomas* was the sonne of *Edmond*, the second sonne of *Henry the third*: and was likewise Earle of *Leicester*, *Ferrers*, and *Lincolne*, a most powerfull and popular subiect, with whom ioynes *Humfrey Bohun Earle of Hereford*, *Aymer de Valence*, Earle of *Pembroke*, *Guy de Beaucham Earle of Warwick*, the Earle of *Arundell* (with many other Barons). But *Gilbert Earle of Gloucester* the Kings Nephew, for that he would neither offend him, nor be wanting to his Peeres, stands as Mediator for their liberties, and the peace of the Kingdome. The Earle *Warrein* remained a while doubtfull, and fauouring rather the Kings part, till the Archbishop of *Canterbury* induced him to consent with the Lords: who being thus prepared send to the King in the behalfe of the whole Community, *Beseeching him to deliuer vp unto them Pierce Gaueston, or else to send him away with his traine out of England*. The King neglecting their petition, they set forward in armes toward the North. The King and *Gaueston* withdrew to *Newcastle*, and there being aduertised of the strength of the Lords, they take Ship (leauing the Queene in much grieve behinde) and land at *Scarborough Castle*; whereinto the King puts *Gaueston* with the best forces he could prouide for his defence, and departs himselfe towards *Warwickshire*.

Gaueston taken and beheaded.—The Earles of *Pembroke* and *Warrein* sent by the Earle of *Lancaster* lay siege to the Castle. *Gaueston* is forced to render himselfe into their hands, but intreates thus much that he might bee brought once more to speake with the King, and then after they should do with him what they pleased. The Earle of *Pembroke* vndertakes vpon his honor he should, but as his seruants were conducting

him towards the King, the Earle of *Warwicke* tooke him from them by force, and commits him to the Castle of *Warwicke*, where after some consultation among the Lords (notwithstanding the Kings earnest solicitation for his life), they condemned him to the blocke, and tooke off his head. /

The description of *Pierce Gaueston*. The miserable estate of Minions.—This was the end of *Pierce Gaueston*, who for that he was the first *Priuado* of this kind euer noted in our Historie, and was aboue a King in his life, deserues to haue his Character amongst Princes being dead. Natvie he was of *Gascoyne*, and for the great seruice his father had done to this Crowne, entertained and bred vp by King *Edward* the first, in companie with his sonne this Prince, which was the meanes that inuested him into that high fauour of his. He was of a goodly personage, of an haughtie and vndauntable spirit, braue and hardy at Armes, as he shewed himselfe in that Turneament which he held at *Wallingford*, wherein he challenged the best of the Nobilitie, and is sayd to haue foyled them all; which inflamed the more their malice towards him. In *Ireland* where he was Lieutenant during the short time of his banishment, he made a Iourney into the mountaines of *Dublin*, brake and subdued the Rebels there, built *Newcastle* in the *Kerns* Country, repaired Castle *Keuin*, and after passed vp into *Munster* and *Thomond*, performing euery where great seruice with much valour and worthinesse. Hee seemes to haue bene a Courtier which could not fawne nor stoope to those hee loued not, or put on any disguise vpon his Nature to temporize with his enemies; But presuming vpon his fortune (the misfortune of such men) grew in the end to that arrogancie as was intollerable, which the priuacie of a Kings fauour vsually begets in their Minions; whose vnderstanding and iudgement being dazled therewith, as is their sight who stand and looke downe from off high places, neuer discerne the ground from whence they ascended. And this extraordinary fauour shewed to one though hee were the best of men, when

it arises to an excesse, is like the predomination of one humour alone in the body, which indaugers the health of the whole, and especially if it light vpon vnworthiness, or where is no desert: and commonly Princes raise men rather for appetite then merit, for that in the one they shew the freedome of their power, in the other they may seeme but to pay their debt.

The peremptory proceedings of the Lords.—But this violent part of the Lords shewed the nature of a rough time, and was the beginning of the second Ciuill Warre of *England*. For now hauing had their desire in this, and finding their owne power and the weaknesse of the King, they peremptorily require the confirmation and execution of all those Articles formerly granted; threatening the King that vnlesse hee presently performed the same, they would constraine him thereunto by strong hand. Thus will Libertie neuer cease till it grow licentious, and such is the misery of a State, where a King hath once lost his reputation with his people, and where his Nature agrees not with his Office, or answers the duties thereunto belonging. And with this menacing message they had their Swords likewise ready drawne, and with strong forces assemble about *Dunstable* making towards *London*, where the King then lay.

The Prelates and the Earle of *Glocester* labour to pacifie and bring in the Lords. Their submission. 1313, *Anno Reg. 5.*—The great Prelates of the Kingdome, with the Earle of *Glocester* labour to appease them, and (with two Cardinals, which at that time were sent by the Pope to reforme these disorders of the Kingdome) they repair to Saint *Albons* and desire conference with the Lords, who receiue them very peaceably, but the Letters which the Pope had written vnto them, they refuse to receiue, saying, *They were men of the Sword, and cared not for reading of letters: that there were many worthy and learned men in the Kingdome whose Counsels they would vse, and not strangers, who knew not the cause of their commotion: absolutely concluding, that they would not*

permit *Forrainers and Aliens* to intermeddle in their actions, or in any businesse that concerned the Kingdome. With which answer the Cardinals returne to *London*. But the Prelates of *England* so labour the businesse as the Lords were content to yeeld vp to the King such Horses, Treasure, and Iewels as they had taken of *Pierce Gaueston* at *Newcastle*, so that the King would graunt their petitions. And thereupon *John Sandall* Treasurer of the Kingdome, and *Ingelard Warle* Keeper of the Wardrobe, are sent to Saint *Albons* to receiue those things at their hands.

Queene *Isabell* deliuered of a Sonne. — About this time Queene *Isabel* is deliuered of a son at *Windsor* whom *Louys* her brother, and other great men and Ladies of *France*, would haue had christened by the name of her father *Phillip*, but the Nobility of *England* had him named *Edward*. And here / the King keepes his Christmas, feasts the *French* with great Magnificence, and is sayd (or rather suspected) to be euill counselled by them against his Nobles, betweene whom there being so ill correspondence already, any imagination serues to make it worse, *Suspition* causing all things to be taken in ill part.

A Parliament. The Lords are pardoned. A fifteenth graunted.—Shortly after, a Parliament is called at *London*, wherein the King complaines of the great contempt was had of him by the Barons, their rising in Armes, their taking and murthering *Pierce Gaueston*, &c. Whereunto with one accord they answer : how they had not offended therein, but rather merited his loue and fauour, hauing taken armes not for any contempt of his Royall person, but to destroy the publike enemy of the Kingdome, banished before by the consent of two Kings : a man by whom his fame and honor was most highly disparaged, his substance, and that of the Kingdome wasted, and a most dangerous dissention betweene him and his subiects raised. Whereof otherwise with all their labour and trauell they could neuer haue had an end. Besides they tell him plainly, they

would now no longer attend vaine promises, nor be deluded with delayes, as they had hitherto bin concerning their required Articles. Which stout resolution of theirs, the Queene with the Prelates, and the Earle of *Glocester* seeing, they seeke by all perswasions to quallifie their heate, and at length so far preuailed with them, as to appease the Kings wrath they brought them and their confederates in open Parliament, to humble theniselues to the King, and to craue pardon for what they had done: which they obtained, and the King receiuers them into grace, as his loyall subiects, grants them their Articles, and particular pardons by his Charter, for their indemnity concerning the death of *Gaueston*. And for this the State vpon his great wants granted him a Fifteenth. *Guy de Beaucham* Earle of *Warwicke* is here appointed to be one of the Kings Councell, who being a man much enuied by such as possest the King, shortly after dies, not without suspition of poyson. (1314. Anno Reg. 6.)

King *Bruce* grows strong in *Scotland*. King *Edward* goes with a mighty Army into *Scotland*.—Whilst the State of *England* stood thus diseased at home, through the infirmity of a weake Head, that of *Scotland* grew strong by the prouidence of a vigilant King, who had not onely ouercome the *Scottish* faction, and recouered the most of his owne Countrey, but also made spoyles on this, wasting all *Northumberland* in such sort, as King *Edward* wakened with the out-cries of his people, and the great dishonour of the Kingdome, is drawne to take armes for redresse thereof, and enters *Scotland* with the greatest Armie that euer yet went thither, consisting as the *Scottish* Writers report of 100. thousand men, whereof were great numbers of *Flemings*, *Gascoines*, *Welsh* and *Irish*, who in imagination had deuoured the Country before they came thither, and thought not of Battailles, but of deuiding the prey. Besides the King had with him most of the Nobilitie, and especiall men of *England*, except *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaster*, the Earles of *Warwicke*, *Warrein* and *Arundell*, who refused

to goe, for the King protracted the execution of the foresayd Articles.

The battell of *Bannocks Borough*. The defeit of the *English*.—The Castle of *Sterling* is the peece that is to be releueed, which chiefly now held out, defended by *Phillip Mowbray* a valiant Knight, who seeing the daily successe of *Bruce*, had manned and victualed the same for many moneths. Neere to this place vpon the Riuer *Bannocke* is incountred this great Army of *England* by *Bruce*, with thirty thousand *Scots*, a small number say their Writers, in respect of their Enemies: but as men hardened with daily vse of Warre and Domesticall euils, fierce and resolute, carrying all their hopes in their hands, of life, estate, and whatsoeuer was deere vnto them. The aduantage of the ground was theirs, hauing behind vnaccessable Rockes to defend them, before a Moorish vncertaine ground wherein they digged trenches, which they pitched full of sharpe stakes, and couered them ouer with hurdles, so that the footemen might passe ouer safely without impediment, but it so confounded the Horse, as it gaue the *Scots* the day, and the greatest ouerthrow to *England* that euer it receiued. There perished in this Battaille (called of *Bannocks B(or)ough*) *Gilbert* the last *Clare* Earle of *Glocester*, a maine Arch of the State of *England*, and *Robert* Lord *Clifford* the Noblest of our Barons, with the Lord *Tiptoft*, the Lord *Marshall*, the Lord *Giles de Argenton*, the Lord *Edmond de Maule*, and 700. Knights, Esquires and Gentlemen of sort: of common soldiers, theirs say fistie thousand, ours ten: taken prisoners / *Humphrey Bohun* Earle of *Hereford*, *Ralph de Morthelmere* (who married *Ioan de Acres*, Countesse Dowager of *Glocester*) with many others: the King and those who were preserued escaped by flight.

This defeit put *Scotland* both into Armes and Wealth, so that they held their owne the better for a long time after, and discouraged so much this Kingdome for many yeares, as it wrought not (though it often attempted) any great reuenge.

King *Edward* vpon his comming backe to *Yorke*, shewed a great desire to repayre this dishonour, but nothing was done ; his people grew colde, home they returne, and sit downe by their losse. The poore Borderers haue the worst of it, and become so dejected as 100. of them would flye from three *Scots* sayth *Walsingham*. To such a suddain faintnes are the inferiours brought, when the nobler parts of a State, which should giue them spirit, are ill affected.

A Parliament at *London*. 1315. *Anno Reg. 8.* Rates for Victuals.—This disaster (as mischiefe neuer comes alone) was attended with invndations, which brought forth Dearth, Dearth Famine, Famine Pestilence, all which exceeded any that euer before had beene knowne. A Parliament is called at *London* vpon the beginning of this Dearth to abate the prices of Victualls, which suddainely grew to be excessiue. And therefore it was ordained, that an Oxe fatted with grasse should be sold for sixteene shillings, fatted with Corne for twenty shillings, the best Cow for twelue shillings, a fat Hogge of two yeares old three shillings four pence, a fat Sheepe shorne, fourteene pence, with the fleece twenty pence, a fat Goose for two pence halfe penny, a fat Capon two pence, a fat Hen a peny, four Pygeons a penny, whosoeuer sold aboue, should forfeit their ware to the King. Heere seemes then to haue beene no Calues, Lambes, Goslings, Chickings, young Pigges, to bee sold : those daynties were not yet in vse.

A Death which lasted 3. yeares. 1317. *Anno Reg. 10.*—After these rates imposed, all kinde of Victualls grew more scarce then before, and such a Murren followed of all kinde of Cattell, with a generall falling of all fruites of the earth, by the excessiue raynes and vnseasonable Weather, as prouision could not be had for the Kings house, nor meanes for other great men to maintayne their Tables (such a iust punishment had excesse and ryot inflicted thereon in those dayes) in so much as men put away their seruants in great numbers, who hauing beene daintily bred, and now not able to worke,

scorning to beg, fell to robbery and spoyle, which addes more misery to the Kingdome. Three yeares this affliction held, and was attended with so great a Pestilence and generall sicknesse of the common sort, caused by the ill nutritment they receyued, as the liuing scarce sufficed to bury the dead.

The Wife of the Earle of *Lancaster* taken out of his house at *Canford*. The King aduertised of his errors.—Notwithstanding all this could not extinguish the rancour betweene the King and his Nobles, but daily one mischiefe or other brake out, to holde in and increase the same. The wife of *Thomas Earle of Lancaster* is taken out of his house at *Canford* in *Dorcestshire*, by one *Richard Saint-Martin*, a deformed Dwarffe (as hee is described) a follower of the Earle *Warrein*: Clayming her for his VVife, and auowing how he had layne with her before shee was married to the Earle: which the Lady her selfe, to her perpetuall ignominy, and the shame of honour, voluntarily auerred. This base creature claymes by her the Earledomes of *Lincolne* and *Salisbury*, whereunto shee was Heire: Which without beeing supported by great Abbettors, hee would neuer haue presumed to attempt. The King is noted an Actor herein, which beeing in so tender and reserued a businesse as marriage, added much to his other violations of order; and gaue occasion and hardinesse to inferiour persons to reprooue his courses, as may bee noted by this passage. Being at the Celebration of the feast of *Penticost* at dinner in the open Hall at *Westminster*, a woman fantastically disguised enters on Horse-backe, and ryding about the Table deliuers him a Letter, wherein was signified the great neglect he had of such as had done him and his Father noble seruices, taxing him for aduancing men of vnworthy parts, &c. which Letter read, and the woman departed, put the King into a great rage. They who guarded the doore beeing sharply reprehended for suffering her to enter in that manner, excused themselues, alleadging it not to bee the fashion of the Kings House in times of Festiuals, to keepe out any which came in that

manner, as they thought to make sport. Search beeing made for this VVoman, shee is found / and examined who set her on. Shee confessed a Knight gaue her money to doe as shee did. The Knight is found, and vpon examination boldly confessed, he did it for the Kings honor and to none other end, and escapes without further ado.

The miserable affliction of the Borderers.—Thus while the North parts were not onely infested with the *Scots*, but likewise by such of the English as vnder colour of vsing ayde for resistance, robbed and spoyled all where they came, to the miserable vndoing of the people. Besides *Robert Bruce* now absolute King of *Scots*, sends his brother *Edward* with a mighty power into *Ireland*, whereof he got a great part, and the Title of a King, which he held three yeares. Thus all things went ill, as euermore it doth in dissolute and dissentious times wherein the publike is alway neglected.

A reconciliation betweene the King and the Nobles. A new occasion of trouble. 1318. Anno Reg. 11. A Parliament at *London*.—But these mischiefs abroad was the occasion that a reconciliation betweene the King and the Earle of *Lancaster*, is made by the mediation of two Cardinalls vpon such conditions as were soone after vniustly broken by the King. A Knight is taken passing by *Pomfret* with Letters sealed with the Kings Seale, directed to the King of *Scots* about murthering the Earle : which Messenger is executed, his head set vpon the top of the Castle, and the Letters reserued to witnesse the intended plot. Which whether it were fayned or not, the report thereof cast an aspersion vpon the King, and wonne many to take part with the Earle. After this, vpon an inuasion of the *Scots* forraging as farre as *Yorke*, a Parliament is assembled at *London*, wherein againe the King by the working of the Cardinall and Clergy of *England* yeeldes, faithfully to obserue all the former required Articles. Whereupon an ayde is granted him of Armed men to goe against the *Scots*. *London* sets foorth 200. *Canterbury* 40. *Saint Albons* 10. and so of all

Cities and Boroughes according to their proportion, whereby a great Army was leauied. VVhich comming to *Yorke*; through mutinity, emulation, and other impediments was dissolued, and turned backe without effecting any thing.

1319. *Anno Reg. 12.* The lord *Hugh Spencer* the yonger succeeded *Gaueston* in the Office of Lord Chamberlayne.—The next yeare after vpon the rendring vp of *Berwick* to the *Scots* by the Treason of *Peter Spalding* who had the custody thereof; the King of *England* rayses an Army and beleagars it: the *Scots* to diuert his forces, enters vpon *England* by other waies, and were like to haue surprised the Person of the Queene, lying neere *Yorke*. The siege notwithstanding is eagerly continued, and the King in great possibility to haue regayned the Towne, had not the Earle of *Lancaster* with Followers with-drawne himselfe vpon discontent, hearing the King say, how hee would giue the keeping thereof to the Lord *Hugh Spencer* the yonger: who was now growne an especiall Minion (the successor both of the Office, and priuate fauour of *Gaueston*) and therefore not to be indured by the Earle.

1321. *Anno Reg. 14.* Another occasion of reuolt.—Those of *Yorke* and the Countrey adjacent, hauing receyued inestimable damages by the *Scots*, collect an Army of 10000 men, and incounter them at *Milton on Swayle*; but beeing not well led, nor experienced, they receyued the defeite, with the losse of 3000. men. Whereof the King being certified, and seeing all things to succeede ill with him, concludes a Truce with the *Scots* for two yeares, and agayne returnes with dishonour from those parts. In the time of this peace, a great flame arises from a small sparke, and tooke beginning vpon this occasion. A Baron named *William Brewes*, hauing in his lycentious age, wasted his estate, offers to sell vnto diuerse men a part of his inheritance called *Powes*. *Humphrey Bohun* Earle of *Hereford*, in regard the Land lay neere his, obtaynes leaue of the King to buy it, and bargaines for the same. The two *Roger Mortimers*, Vnkle and Nephew, great men likewise in those

parts, not vnderstanding it seemes anything of the former bargaine, contract also for the same land, with the sayd Sir *William Brewes*. *Hugh Spencer* the yonger hearing of this sale, and the Land adjoyning to part of his, obtaynes a more especiall leaue of the King, being now his Chamberlayne, and buyes it out of all their hands.

The Lords oppose the *Spencers*, and take Armes.—The Earle of *Hereford* complaynes himselfe to the Earle of *Lancaster* (the refuge of all discontented men) who at *Sherborne* enters into a Confederation with diuers Barons there Assembled, taking their Oathes intermutually to liue and dye together, in main-tayning the right of the Kingdome, and to procure the Banishment of the two / *Spencers*, Father and sonne, whom they now held to be the great seducers of the King and oppressours of the State, disposing of all things in Court at their Will, and suffering nothing to bee obtained but by their meanes: Which the State accounted a mischiefe most intollerable and grieuous vnto them, seeing all graces and dispatches were to passe out but at one doore, whereby the Kings benignity and power is diminished, the Kingdome dishonoured, all corruptions introduced, to the ouer-throw of Justice and good order. And vnder this pretence they take Armes, wherein themselues proceede not in that euен way of right as they made shewe, but follow the fury of their willes: beeing once out and astray, they seize vpon, and make spoyle of the Lands and goods of those persons they prosecuted, and all such as had friendship and affinity with them, killing their seruants and disposing their Castles at their pleasure.

The King excuses the *Spencers*. Denies the Lords their demaunds. The Lords come armed to *London*. The king yeelds vnto them. The Earle of *Hereford* publishes the Kings Edict in *Westminster Hall*.—And comming armed thus to St. *Albons* they send to their King, residing then at *London*, the Bishops of *London*, *Salisbury*, *Hereford* and *Chichester* (who were there assembled to consult for peace) requiring him as he

tendred the quiet of the Realme to rid his Court of those Traytors the Spencers, condemned in many Articles of high Treason, by the Communality of the Land, and withall to grant his Letters-Patents of Pardon and Indemnity both to them, and all such as tooke part with them, and that for no offences past or present they should hereafter be punished. The King returnes answere, That Hugh Spencer the Father was beyond the Seas employed in his businesse, and the sonne was guarding the Cinq-Portes according to his Office, and that it was against Law and Custome, they should be banished without being heard. Moreover that their request was voyd of Iustice and Reason, for that the said Spencers were ever readie to answer to all complaints made against them, according to the forme of Law, and if the L.L. could proue they had offended the Statutes of the Realme, they were willing to submit themselves to the triall thereof. And besides swore he would neuer violate the oath made at his Coronation, by granting letters of Pardons to such notorious offenders who contemned his person, disturbed the kingdome, and violated the Royall Maiesty. Which answer so exasperated the Lords as presently they approach to London, and lodged in the Subvrbes, till they obtayned leave of the King to enter into the City: VVhere they peremptorily vrge their demands, which at length by mediation of the Queene, and the Chiefe Prelates, the King is wrought to condiscend vnto, and by his Edict published in Westminster Hall, by the Earle of Hereford, are the Spencers banished the Kingdome. Hugh the Father keepes beyond the Seas, but the sonne secretly hides himselfe in England expecting the turne of a better season. The Lords (hauing thus obtayned their desire with the Kings Letters of impunity) depart home, but yet not with such security, as they gaue ouer the prouision for their owne defence.

The occasion of the Queenes displeasure with the lords. She is denied lodging in the Castle of *Leeds*. The King takes the Castle of *Leeds*. Growes strong.—Shortly after, there fell

out an vnexpected accident that suddainely wrought their confusion. The Queene who had euer beene the Nurse of peace, and laboured to accord the King and his Barons, making her Progresse towards *Canterbury*, was disposed to lodge in the Castle of *Leedes*, appertayning to the Lord *Badlesmere* (who had beene long the Kings Steward, but lately tooke part with the Barons) and sending her Marshall to make ready for her and her trayne, they who kept the Castle told him playnely, that neyther the Queene, or any else should enter there, without Letters from their Lord. The Queene her selfe goes to the Castle, and receyues the like answere, wherevpon she is driuen to take such lodging other where as could be prouided. Of which indignity she complaynes to the King, who tooke it so to heart, as presently with a power of armed men out of *London*, hee layes siege to the Castle, takes it, hangs the keeper, *Thomas Culpeper*, sends the Wife and Children of the Lord *Badlesmere* to the Tower, and seises vpon all his goods and Treasure. And hauing this power about him, and warmed with successe and the instigation of the Queene, suddainly directs his course to *Chichester* where hee keeps his Christmas, and there prouides for an Army against the Barons : whereof many (seeing the Kings power encreasing) left their associates and yeeld themselues to his mercy ; amongst whom were the two *Roger Mortimers*, men of great might and meanes, the Lord *Hugh Audeley*, the Lord *Maurice Barkley*, and others, who notwithstanding, contrary to their expectation, were sent to diuers / Prisons.

The Lords withdraw into the north parts and are ouerthrowne. The execution of the Earle of *Lancaster*, with diuers other Lords in diuers places. The first of any Earle or Baron of *England* that euer was executed vpon Scaffold, or otherwise, since the time of *William the first*.—The Earles of *Lancaster* and *Hereford* seeing this suddain change withdrew themselues and their Companies from about *Glocester* towards the North parts. The King followes them with his Army,

wherein were the Earles of *Athol* and *Angus*, and at *Burton vppon Trent*, where they had made head, discomfited their Forces and put them all to flight. Wherupon seeking to escape they retire further North, and at *Burrough Brigs* are encountered by Sir *Simon Ward* Shrieve of *Yorke*, and Sir *Andrew Harckley* Constable of *Carleil*, who (after the Earle of *Hereford* was slayne in striuing to passe the Bridge) tooke the Earle of *Lancaster*, with diuerse other Lords, and brought them to *Pomfret*, where the third day after, the King sitting himselfe in iudgement with *Edmond Earle of Kent* his brother, the Earle of *Pembrook*, the Earle *Warrein*, *Hugh Spencer* lately created Earle of *Winchester* and others, sentence of death is giuen against *Thomas Earle of Lancaster*, by drawing, hanging and beheading as a Traytor. The two first punishments are pardoned in regard he was of the Royall blood, and onely beheaded he was the same day without the Towne of *Pomfret* before his owne Castle. And by the like iudgement were Condemned, the Lord *Roger Clifford*, the Lord *Warrein Lisle*, the Lord *William Tuchet*, *Thomas Maudit*, *Henry Bradburne*, *William Fitz-Williams*, *William Lord Cheyny*, *Thomas Lord Mowbray*, *Ioseline Lord Danyll*, all which were executed at *Yorke*. Shortly after the Lord *Henry Teyes* is taken, drawne, hanged and quartered at *London*, the Lord *Aldenham* at *Windsor*, the Lords *Badlesmere* and *Ashburnham* at *Canterbury*, the Lord *Gifford* at *Glocester*; principall men in principall places, to spread the more terrouer ouer the Kingdome. All their estates and inheritances are Confiscated, and many new men aduanced by the same. And this is the first blood of Nobility, that euer was shed in this manner in *England*, since *William the first*, which beeing such, and so much as it was, opened veynes for more to follow, and procured a most hideous reuenge, which shortly after insued. Thus is the beame of power turned and Regality (now in the heauier scale) weighes downe all.

The Kings ill successe in *Scotland*. 1323. Anno Reg. 16.—

And presently vpon this Master-worke, the King both to busie the mindes of his people, and to keepe their hands doing whilst the terroure thereof lasted, marches from *Yorke* with a mightie hoast (but small prouisions) into *Scotland*. Where, the *Scots* conuaying themselues and all succours out of his way, put that want vpon him, as confounded his great Army without blowes, forcing him to returne with much dishonour. And hauing passed farre within his owne Countrey, they assayled him at vnawares, and had like to haue taken his Person, as well as they did his Treasure with the Earle of *Richmond* (with whom hauing miserably ransackt all the Countrey ouer, euen to the Walles of *Yorke*), they returne loaden with mighty spoyles safe into *Scotland*; and this was the successe of this Vnfortunate King (not borne for Tryumphes) in his third Scottish expedition.

The Earle of *Carleil* degraded and executed.—And now being at leisure, in a calmer humour it seemes, hee began to haue a sense of the Execution of the Earle of *Lancaster*, which hee discouers vpon this occasion. Some about him making earnest suite to grant a pardon to one of the Earles Followers (a man of meane estate) and pressing him hard thereunto, hee falles into a great passion, exclayming agaynst them as vniust and wicked Councillors, which would vrge him so to saue the life of a most notorious Varlet, and would not speake one word for his neere kinsman the Earle of *Lancaster*: Who sayd he; had he liued might haue beene vsefull to mee and the whole Kingdome; but this fellow, the longer hee liues the more mischiefe hee will commit, and therefore by the Soule of God, hee shall dye the death hee hath deserued. Sir *Andrew Harckley* who was the man which tooke Prisoner the Earle of *Lancaster* at *Burrough Brigges*, beeing aduanced for his seruice to the Earledome of *Carliel*, enjoyed his honour but for a while: For the next yeare after, eyther thrust out into discontent, by the *Spencers* enuying his high preferment, or combyning with the *Scots*, allured with the hope of a great Match (as hee

was accused) is degraded of all his honours, drawne, hanged and quartered at *London* for Treason, and remaynes amongst the examples of suddaine downe fals from high places, vnder an inconstant and ill gouerning Prince. /

1324. *Anno Reg. 17.* A Parliament.—Occasion drewe on a Parliament to consult, amongst other important businesses, concerning the Sommons lately sent to King *Edward*, from the new King of *France Charles le Bell* (who succeeded his brother *Phillip de Long*) to come and doe his Homage for *Gascoigne*, and it was by the common consent of all decreed that the King should not go in person at that time, but send some speciall men to excuse or deferre his appearance.

The king is denied a Subsedie. The Bishop of *Hereford* accused of treason. He refused to answer. The Bishop taken from the barre. The Bishop being absent is condemned *ex Officio*.—Besides in this Parliament, the King required a Subsedie both of the Cleargie and Laiety, for the redemption of *John Brittaine Earle of Richmond*, lately taken prisoner by the *Scots*. But it was denied and alledged that no contribution ought of right to be made but for the redemption of the King, the *Queene or Prince*, and so nothing was there gotten but more displeasure. The Bishop of *Hereford* was arrested, and accused of high Treason before the King, and his Councell for ayding the Kings enemies in their late rebellion, but he refused to answere (being a consecrated Bishop) without leave of the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, whose Suffragan hee was (and who he sayde was his direct Iudge next the Pope) or without the consent of the rest of his fellowe-Bishops, who then all arose and humbly craued the Kinges Clemencie in his behalfe; but finding him implacable, they tooke away their fellow-Bishop from the Barre, and deliuered him to the custodie of the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, till some other time the King should appoint for his answer to what he was charged withall. Shortly after hee was againe taken and conuented as before, which the Cleargie vnderstanding, the Arch-bishops, *Canterbury*,

Yorke, and *Dublin*, with ten other Bishops, all which with their Crosses erected went to the place of Iudgement, and againe tooke him away with them, charging all men vpon paine of Excommunication to forbeare to laye violent hands on him: with which audacious act, the King was much displeased, and presently commanded inquiry to be made *ex officio Iudicis*, concerning those obiections against the Bishop, wherein he was found guilty, though absent, and had all his goods and possessions seised into the Kings hands.

The presumption of the *Spencers*.—This act lost him the Clergy, and added power to the discontented party, which was now growne to be all in generall, except the *Spencers* and their followers, who inriched with the spoyles of the Barons, gouerned all at their pleasure, selling the Kings faours, and shutting him vp from any others, but where they pleased to shew him: and in this violence which knowes no bounds, they presume to abridge the Queene of her maintenance, and lessened her houshold traine, which was the rocke whereon they perished.

The Earle of *Kent* sent into *Gascoine*. The Queene sent to accomodate the busines of *France*.—The proceeding of the King of *France* against the King of *England* for the omission of his Homage, was growne so farre, as that all his territories there, were adiudged to be forfeited, and many places of importance seised on by the *French*, whereupon *Edmond Earle of Kent* the Kings brother is sent into *Gasconie*, but to little effect: the King of *France* was before hand, his power ready and his people in those parts yeelding that way where they saw most force. So that, either the King of *England* must go in person to appease this trouble, or send his Queene to her brother to mediate an accord, otherwise all was there in danger to be lost. For the Kings going in person, the *Spencers* held it vnsafe both for him, and them, if he should leauue his Kingdome at home in so great, and generall discontents as then it was. Wherefore the Queene with a small traine is sent ouer to accomodate the businesse, which she negotiates

so well, as all quarrels should bee ended vpon condition the King of *England* would giue to his sonne *Edward* the Duchie of *Aquitaine* with the Earledome of *Ponthieu*, and send him ouer to do him Homage for the same; which after many consultations the King is wrought to yeeld vnto.

The Prince is sent to do his Homage for the Duchy of *Aquitaine*. The Bishop of *Exceter* discouers the Qu. plots. The Queene proclaimed enemy to the Kingdome.—The Prince is sent with the Bishop of *Exeter* and others, to the Court of the King of *France*, where he was most welcome to his Mother, who herein had her desire, and beeing wholly bent to reuenge (whereof none are sayd to bee more eager then Women) found there, besides her great party in *England*, those who nourished that humour in her, amongst whom was chife *Roger Mortimer* Lord of *Wigmor*, lately escaped out of the Tower of *London*, a gallant young gentleman whom she especially fauoured. / The Bishop of *Exceter* perciuing some plots to be in hand, and their close consultations made without him, withdrawes secretly from thence, and discouers to the King so much as he obserued of their courses. The King sends presently for the Queene and Prince, soliciting withall, the King of *Fraunce* to hasten their returne; which when he saw was neglected and delayed, he caused them openly to be proclaimed enemies to the Kingdome, banished them and all their adherents out of the Land: and withall causes all the Ports to be strongly kept, and sends three Admirals to attend on seuerall Coasts to oppose their landing.

The Queene returns with forces.—The Queene to inflame her the more is informed of a plot layd to murther her, and the Prince: and either doubting how much the money of *England* might worke in those should be tempted therewith, or else finding little forwardnesse in her brother to ayde or countenance her course against her husband, withdrawes to the Earle of *Haynault*, beeing then a Prince of great meanes, and likewise the Earle of *Holland*, to whose daughter *Phillippa*

she contracts her sonne the Prince, and gets ayde and mony of him to transport her into *England*. Arriuing at *Harwick* with the Prince, the Earle of *Kent* the Kings brother (whom she brought with her from the Court of *France*) the Earle of *Pembrooke*, the Lord *Roger Mortimer*, and *John* brother to the Earle of *Haynault* with 2500. *Henowayes* and *Flemings*, she was received with great ioy and concourse of all the discontented Nobility and others: and especially by the Bishops of *Hereford* and *Lincolne*, who soone resorted vnto her, as men who had lost, to recouer their fortunes.

1326. Anno Reg. 19. The King demands ayde of the City of *London*. The King departs towardes the West.—The King, vpon notice of this sudden and safe arriuall of the Queene, demands ayde of the City of *London*, which returns answer, *That they would with all duty honour the King, Queene and Prince, but their gates they would shut against all forreiners and traytors to the Realme, and with all their power withstand them*. The King with his small Councell about him, reposing no assurance in this aunswere (after Proclamation made that none, vpon paine of death, should ayde the Queene, and commandement giuen to destroy all her adherents, onely her owne Person, the Prince, and his brother the Earle of *Kent* excepted, and that whosoeuer brought the head of *Roger Mortimer* should haue 1000. pounds) he leaues the City, committing the keeping of the Tower to Sir *John Wenston* with the gard of his yonger son *John of Eltham*, and his Neece the Countesse of *Glocester* (first wife to *Pierce Gaueston*, now of *Hugh Spencer* the yonger: a Lady vnfortunate by the ouer great fortunes of both her husbands) and departs towards the West, hoping to find ayde in those parts as formerly he had done against the Barons, but he saw the world was altered, and no man there to regard him.

The Queene followes. The Queenes Proclamation. The King betakes him to the Sea.—The Queene aduertised of his course marched after him (growing dayly greater as she marched) and comes to *Oxford*, where the Bishop of *Hereford*

preached before her and the whole assembly, and deliuers the cause of her proceeding, taking for his Text, *My head aketh, My head aketh* (2. Kings 24): and concludes most vndiuinely, that an aking and sickle head of a Kingdome, was of necessity to be taken off, and not otherwise to be cured. A most execrable Doctrine, and repugnant to the sacred Word, which in all corrupted times is euermore produced, to abuse mens *Credulity* and iustifie *Impiety* in whatsoeuer *Ambition* or *Malice* shall attempt: a sinne beyond all other that can bee committed vpon earth. And the more to countenance the Queenes proceeding, it was noysed two Cardinals were seene in her Campe, sent by the Pope to Excommunicate such as tooke Armes against her, and the cause of hers to be for the deliuering the Kingdome from the misleaders of the King, the *Spencers*, the Lord Chancellour, and their adherents: all others to be safe. And here Proclamation is made, *That nothing should be taken from any subiect without paying ready money*, and a penalty imposed on whomsoeuer did the contrary, as for the value of three pence to loose a finger, six pence the hand, twelue pence the head, and that whosoeuer brought to the Queene the yonger *Spencers* head should haue 2000. pounds. Thus is a bad cause defended with shew of Iustice, and an vnnaturall presumption made to seeme right by power and Authority: An impotent Woman led with passion, and abused by wicked Councell, is brought to make head against her owne head, to conduct an innocent sonne against the / Father; to vndertake an action she knew not how to manage, and to put her selfe into their hands, who hauing other ends then hers, would worke beyond, though vnder her authority, what pleased themselues. And though the euent (as commonly it doth in such attempts) prooue worse then the intention of the vndertaker; yet howsoeuer, the infamy of all what was acted lyes foule and open vppon her Memory, and no Apology extant any way to couer it, and therefore we must leaue the same as wee finde it. And better had it beene for the honour

of the state of *England* to haue beene without her great Dowry, then to haue had her example, the worst of a Queene it euer yet had. The miserable King hauing his reputation (the maine support of Maiesty) blowne vp with the hurle-winde of his pursuers, found few or no hands to aide him: So that, after he had put *Hugh Spencer* the Father into the Castle of *Bristol*, with what defence could be prouided for the guarding thereof; he leaues to trust the Land, and commits himselfe to a more vnsaithfull element, the Sea, with purpose eyther to hide himselfe a while in the Isle of *Lundy*, or to passe ouer into *Ireland*; but lost too and fro with contrary Winds (after Sir *Thomas Blunt* his Steward with others were shrunk from him) he lands in *Wales* in *Glamorgan* shire; where, though he found not safety, he found loue and was hidden in the Abbey of *Neth*.

Hugh Spencer the Father hanged at *Bristol*.—The Queene with her Army from *Oxford* goes to *Glocester*, where the Lords *Percy* and *Wake*, with ayde from the North, met her; and thence to *Bristoll*: assayles and wins the Castle: puts to death the defender *Hugh Spencer* Earle of *Winchester*, without forme or triall of Law: causing him to be drawne and hanged on the common Gallowes in his Coate armour, cut vp before hee was dead, headed and quartered. This done, she passes to *Hereford*, and the King beeing not to be found, Proclamation is made, that if hee would returne and conforme himselfe to rule the State as hee ought to doe, hee should come and receyue the gouernement thereof, by the generall consent of his people. But hee, eyther not daring (as destitute both of courage and counsell) to trust to this offer, or not well-informed thereof, keepes himselfe still concealed. Whereupon (as may seeme was intended) aduantage is taken to dispose of the gouernement, and the Prince who is now vnder their guard, is made Guardian of the Kingdome, hath Fealty sworne vnto him, and a new Chancellor and Treasurer are appoynted.

The king taken Prisoner.—Long it was not ere the King came to be discouered as a Person too great for any couer,

and was by *Henry Earle of Lancaster*, brother to the late *Thomas*, *William Lord Zouch*, and *Ries ap Howell* taken and conueyed to the Castle of *Kenelworth*. The yonger *Spencer* with *Baldocke* the Chancellour, and *Simon Reading* apprehended with him, are sent to the Queene to *Hereford*: *Spencer* (who was now Earle of *Glocester*) is drawne and hanged on a Gallowes fifty foote high (wherein hee was exalted aboue his Father, otherwise had the like execution) and likewise in his Coate armor, whereon was written, *Quid gloriaris in militia*. *Psal. 52.* *Simon Reading* was hanged ten foot lower then he : But *Baldocke* in regard he was a Priest, had the fauour to be pined to death in *Newgate*. And here likewise a little before was the Earle of *Arundel*, with two Barons, *John Danyll*, and *Thomas Micheldeuer* executed as *Traytors* by the procurement of *Roger Mortimer*, for adhering to the Kings part.

To accompany these mischieves of the Country, the Commons of *London* made insurrection, and force their Maior, who held for the King to take their part, let out all prisoners, possess them of the Tower, put to death the Constable therof, Sir *John Weston*, murther the Bishop of *Exeter*, to whom they bare an especiall hatred, for that beeing the Kings Treasurer, hee caused the Iustices Itenerants to sit in *London*, by whom they were grieuously fined: and thus all is let out to liberty and confusion.

A Parliament at *London* where the Prince is elected King.
1327. Anno Reg. 20.—After a moneths stay at *Hereford*, the Queene with her sonne returning, kept Christmas at *Wallingford*, their Candlemasse at *London*: where the Parliament beeing assembled agreed to depose the King, as vnfit to gouerne (objeting many Articles against him) and to elect his eldest sonne *Edward*: Which they did in the great Hall at *Westminster*, with the Vniuersall consent of the people there present; and the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* makes a Sermon vpon this Text, *Vox populi, Vox Dei*, exhorting the people to inuoke the King of Kings for him they had there chosen. /

The King is brought to resigne his Crowne. The forme of his resignation.—The Queene, eyther out of the consideration of the difference of a husband and a sonne (whom now shee was not like long to guide) or through remorse of conscience, looking backe vpon what shee had done, takes this election grieuously to heart, insomuch as her sonne to re-comfort her, swore hee would neuer accept of the Crowne without the consent of his Father: whereupon by a common decree, three Bishops, two Earles, two Abbots, foure Barons, three Knights of euery Shiere, with a certayne number of Burgesses of euery City and Borough, and especially of the Cinque-Ports, are sent to the imprisoned King at *Kenelworth*, to declare vnto him election of his sonne, and to require the renuntiation of his Crowne and Royall dignity: whereunto if hee would not consent, the State was resolued to proceede as it thought good. The King beeing first priuately made acquainted with the Message (the most harsh to Nature that could bee imparted) and by two, whom hee especially hated (for hauing especially offended them), the Bishops of *Hereford* and *Lincolne*, was brought foorth before the Assembly; to whom as soone as his passion (wherewith hee was ouer-charged, would giue him leaue) he confessed, *How he had beeene mis-guided (the common excuse of a poore spirit) and done many things whereof now hee repented, which if he were to gouerne againe, hee would become a new man, and was most sorrowfull to haue so much offended the State, as it should thus vtterly reject him*; but yet gaue them thankes that they were so gracious vnto him, as to elect his eldest sonne for King. Hauing spoken to this purpose, they proceede to the Ceremony of his resignation (which chiefly consisted in the surrender of his Crowne) for the forme whereof, beeing the first that euer was seene in *England*, they could follow no precedent but must make one: and *William Trussell* a Iudge put it into the Stile of Lawe to render it the more authenticall, and pronounced the same in this manner. *I William Trussell in the name of all men of the*

Land of England, and of all the Parliament Procurator, resigne to thee Edward the Homage that was made to thee sometime, and from this time forwards now following, I defie thee and deprive thee of all thy royll power, and I shall neuer be tendant on thee as King after this time. This was the last act and the first example of a deposed King, no lesse dishonorable to the State then to him. He was a Prince more weake then euil, and those exorbitances of his met with as great or greater in his people, who as we see, dealt ouer roughly and vnciuilly with him. He is reported by some to haue beene learned (which perhaps might make him the softer), to haue written Verses when he was in Prison : to haue Founded *Oriell Colledge*, and *St. Mary Hall* in Oxford.

His Issue.—He had by his Wife *Isabell* two sonnes, *Edward* borne at *Windsor*, who succeeded him, and *John* surnamed of *Eltham*, who was created Earle of *Cornwall*, *An. 1315.* and dyed in the flower of his youth in *Scotland*. And also two Daughters, *Ioan*, married to *Dauid Prince of Scotland*, and *Elioner* to the Duke of *Gelders*.

The end of the Life, and Reigne of Edward the second.

The Life, and Reigne, of Edward the third.

1327. Anno Reg. 1. The Queene hath her ioynture inlarged.

Twelue especiall men chosen for the gouernment.

An expedition into Scotland.



Pon the resignation of *Edward* the second : *Edward* his sonne of the age of foureteene yeares, beganne his Raigne the twentieth of *January 1327.* and sends forth Proclamations of his Peace into all Shieres, in this Forme. *Edward by the Grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Aquitayne, to N. N. our*

Shriefe of S. greeting. Whereas the Lord Edward, late King of England our Father, by the Common Councell and assent of the Prelates, Earles, Barons, and other Chiefe men, with the whole Communalty of this Realme, did Voluntarily amooue himselfe from the Gouvernement thereof, willing and granting that We as his eldest son and Heire, should assume the same, &c. Which Proclamation, made to palliat a wrong, did but the more discouer it. Within fие dayes after he was crowned at *Westminster* by *Walter Archbishop of Canterbury*: At which solemnity the Queene made shew of great sorrow and heauiness, / but beeing after pacified by the inlargement of her Ioynture (which tooke vp three parts of the Kings reuenewes) she beganne to be of better cheere. Twelue especiall men are here appointed to mannage the affaires of the Kingdome, till the King were of fit yeares to gouerne of himselfe: The Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *Yorke*, the Bishops of *Winchester*, *Hereford*, and *Worcester*, *Thomas Brotherton* Earle Marshall, *Edmond Earle of Kent*, *Iohn Earle Warrein*, *Thomas Lord Wake*, *Henry Lord Piercy*, *Olmer Lord Ingham*, and *Iohn Lord Rose*; but the Queene and *Roger Lord Mortimer* vsurped this charge, and tooke all wholly to themselues. And to busie the present and vphold this *Change*, an expedition instantly is vndertaken for *Scotland*, wherein (those strangers still retained which the Queene brought ouer with her) are employed vnder the conduct of the Lord *Iohn Beaumont* brother to the Earle of *Haynault*, and at *Yorke* the whole Army were to meeet, where the *English* (beeing not all of a party) quarrell with those strangers, and so great a conflict arose betweene them as cost some blood and was hardly appeased: an ill presage of that iourney.

The *Scots* retire from *Stanhope Parke*, and nothing done.—At *Stanhope Parke* the *English* Army encounter the *Scottish*, and though the *English* were thrice greater, and might presently haue vanquished them, yet by the treason of some great men (as it was bruited) they escaped all away, and nothing was

done ; so that the young King borne for victories, was depriued the honour of his first action, which yet, being not conducted by his owne Spirit, was held more dishonourable to others then to him. Vpon their returne, all the *Hannowayes* and Stipendaries are sent home into their owne countries.

The miserable estate of the imprisoned King. He is murthered at *Barckley Castle*.—During this businesse the deposed King remaines prisoner at *Killingworth*, with the allowance of a hundred markes a moneth for his expences, depriued of all those comforts the world should yeeld him. His Wife whom he loued (though now the Author of all his misery) sends vnto him letters and apparell, but excuses her comming as beeing not permitted by the State: Neither was he thought safe enough where hee was, nor so straitly lookt vnto, as they desired to haue him, being in the custody of his Vnkle the Earle of *Lancaster*; And therefore they commit him to other Guardians, and men of the most rough natures could be found, the Lord *Matreuers* and *Thomas Gourney*, who from thence remouued him to the Castle of *Berckley* in *Glocester-shire*, where long he stayd not, but was conueyed to *Corfe Castle*, and thence to other places vp and downe to beguile and disappoint his friends, by the vncertainety of his being, if any plot were layd (which they doubted) to restore him. Besides to disguise him the more, and that he might not be easily knowne, they shaued his *head* and *beard*, which as a seruant of his Sir *Thomas de la More*, a Knight of *Glocestersheire* reports (who wrote his life) was done in the open fields, by the commandement of *Gourney*, who most barbarously caused the miserable King to sit on a Mole-hill whilst the Barber shaued him, and to take cold water out of a ditch to wash him withall, which the patient King (saith this Reporter) seeing, told them, *That in despight of them he would haue warme water at his Barbing*, and therewithall shed abundance of teares. Other vile reproaches this sauage Iaylor put vpon his annoyned Soueraigne, as he reconueyed him backe to *Berckley Castle*, where shortly after he,

and *Matreuers* caused him to be murthered in a most hideous manner by thrusting vp a hot Iron into his bowels through an hollow instrument, whereby no outward note might appeare to bewray how he came by his death: For the body being after layd foorth, and viewed by many substantiall Citizens of *Bristoll* and *Glocester* (called thither for that purpose) they could finde no signe either of wound or poysone, so that their euidence confirmed the report that was giuen out, how he dyed of extreame griefe. This was the end of *Edward* the second, within eight moneths after his deposing.

The deed-doers *Matreuers* and *Gourney*, though they had Commission and great hopes giuen them to do as they did, yet beeing by those who were ashamed to vowe it, they durst not abide the tryall, but as Fugitiues fled presently their Country: *Gourney* three yeares after was taken at *Marseilles*, and murthered on the sea before he came to *England*, that he might tell no tales who set him on worke. But this was not all the blood this deede cost; the iudgement of God fell heauily, not onely vpon the great contriuers, / but even vpon the whole Kingdome: and what the issue of this present Prince, whose throne (though without his guilt) was thus set vp on his fathers bloud, sustained in after times, the many imbruied Scaffolds, the diuerse bloody fields, the infinite slaughters in the ciuill discord of their diuided families, which the consumed race of the most part of all this present Nobility will testifie. But now for the present, the authors of this change vse all meanes to increase and fortifie their owne fortunes, whilst the State in general receiues no great satisfaction thereby. Mens expectations are not answered in that manner as they were conceiued. The Queene Mother and her Minion *Mortimer* (lately created Earle of the Marches of *Wales*) guide all, and all that is not well done, or amissee in the Gouernement is now attributed to them and their councell: So that discontentments ingender new factions according to the nature of turbulent times.

1328. Anno Reg. 2. A Parliament at North. A dishonorable

peace made with *Scotland*.—The King's marriage with *Phillippa of Haynault* is solemnized, and a Parliament is held at *Northampton*, where a dishonourable peace is concluded with the *Scots*, and confirmed by a match between *Dauid Bruce Prince of Scotland*, sonne to *Robert Bruce*, and *Ioane* sister to the King of *England*, which match by reason of the tender age of the Prince, beeing but seuen yeeres old, could promise little good. Besides by the secret working of the Queene-Mother, the Earle of *March*, and Sir *Iames Douglass*, *The King surrenders by his Charter his title of Soueraigntie to the Kingdome of Scotland, restores diuerse deedes and instruments of their former Homages and Fealties, with the famous euidence called the Ragman Role, and many ancient Iewels and Monuments, amongst which was the Blache Crosse of Scotland, &c.* Moreouer any Englishman is prohibited to hold lands in *Scotland*, vnlesse he dwelt there. In consideration whereof King *Bruce* was to pay 30. thousand Marks. Shortly after another Parliament is held at *Winchester*, where *Edmond Earle of Kent*, brother to the late deposed King, is accused and condemned vpon his confession, for intending the restoring of his brother, and conferring with diuers great men concerning the same, but without any manner of fact. This miserable Earle stood on the scaffold from one till fiue, and no executioner could be found to dispatch him; at length a silly wretch of the *Marshalsey* cut off his head.

A Parliament at *Nottingham*. Articles against *Mortimer*. He is hanged at *Tyborne*.—These violences and vnpleasing courses in a new alteration, could not long holde without effecting another, which the next yeare produced. A Parliament is helde at *Nottingham* wherein all the power and glory of the Queene & *Mortimer* (being scarce of three yeares growth) were ouerthrowne; the Queene hath all her great Ioynture taken from her, and put to her pention of 1000 pounds per annum. *Mortimer* is accused to haue procured the late Kings death; to be the Author of the Scots safe-escaping from *Stanhope Parke*.

corrupted with the gift of 20000 pounds; to haue procured the late marriage, and peace with Scotland, so dishonorable to the King and Kingdom: to haue consumed the Kings Treasure, besides all what was taken from the Spencers, to haue bene too familiar with the Queene, &c. And for these hainous offences is condemned of high-Treason, sent vp to London, drawne and hanged at the common Gallows at the Elms, now called Tyburne, where his body remained two dayes as an opprobrious spectacle for all beholders. Such were the Tragical and bloody returnes, those ambitious supplanters of others, got by exchange of the time, which now, may seeme, made the world weary of such violences, and more wary to runne into them. And the King growing to yeares of more Ability to gouerne of himselfe, wrought a greater respect of his seruice in those who were of power about him, seeing him to be of a spirit likely to go through with his worke; and therefore they vse their best aduice to put him into courses that might be most honorable for him and the Kingdome. The staines which his youth had receiued by such as gouerned the same, are now discouered, and meanes deuided how to take them off. And withall, occasions fall out to put him into Action.

King Edward is summoned to do his Homage to *Philip de Valois* King of *France*.—And first a new King of *Fraunce* lately crowned (vpon the death of *Charles le Bell* without issue Male) requires his homage according to the custome for the Duchy of *Guien* and his other lands in *Fraunce* held of that Crowne: whereunto though King Edward was supposed to haue the better right, yet seeing *Philip le Valois* was now in possession of the same, and himselfe then yong, his owne Kingdome factious, turbulent and / vnsettled, he was not as yet otherwise then by Law (which seldome gets a Crowne) able to debate his Title; and therefore is content to temporise, and go ouer in person to performe this ceremony, which did much preiudice his after claime, layd an imputation vpon the

iustnesse of his cause, hauing thereby acknowledged and made good the right of his Competitor.

The Title of King *Edward* to the Crowne of *France*.—The difference betweene them stood thus: *Phillip le Bell* father to *Isabell*, Mother to King *Edward*, had three sonnes, *Louys*, *Phillip*, and *Charles*, which all were successiuelly Kings of *France*, and died without any issue Male to inherite the Kingdome, and notwithstanding *Louys* the eldest sonne had a daughter, whom *Eudes Earle of Bologne* her Vnkle by the Mother laboured to haue crowned Queene, yet for that it was adiudged contrary to the *Salicq. Lawe*, which debarred Women from the succession, *Philip* the younger brother of *Louys* is admitted to the Crowne. This *Phillip* likewise left foure daughters, and yet doth *Charles* his brother succeede him by the force of the same Law (which passed now as a case adiudged) without any controuersie. *Charles* dying leaues his Wife young with childe: difference arises about the Regencie of that Kingdome, betweene King *Edward* of *England* the Nephew, and *Phillip de Valois*, Cozen-germane to the last King *Charles*. This *Phillip* was the first Prince of the blood, sonne to *Charles de Valois*, brother to *Phillip le Bell*. And though King *Edward* was in degree neerer then hee, yet was the Regencie adiudged to *Phillip* (if the Queene brought foorth a sonne) as descending from a brother more capeable of the Crowne then King *Edward* descending from a daughter that was vncapeable, as they alleaged.

1331. Anno Reg. 5. King *Edward* doth Homage to the French King. The forme of the Homage.—The Queene at length deliuered of a daughter the processe is ended, and *Phillip* receiued and Crowned King of *France*, by their *Salicq. Lawe*, maintained to bee vnuiolable. *Robert de Artois* a Peere of great power, was a speciall meanes of his preferment, and the exclusion of King *Edward*, who shortly after vpon Sommons giuen (as is aforesayd) goes ouer and meetes King *Phillip* at *Amiens*, where, by the Councels of

both Kings, two especiall points are debated, *The one concerning the quality of the Homage, pretended liege by the Councell of King Phillip, but denied by that of King Edward.* The second point, *For the Lands in Guiene, which the last King Charles had detained as his, whereof the Councell of King Edward demanded restitution, as appertaining to that Duchy.* The Composition for this last point was easie, in regard of the Treatie of Peace made betweene the sayd King *Charles* and *Edward* the second, the last of *May 1325.* wherein their rights were sau'd by protestations, reciprocall, aduised and receiu'd in offer and acceptance of Homage made to the sayd King *Charles* by this *Edward* before he was King, which protestations were agreed to bee followed and repeated in this, with Couenant that if King *Edward* would pursue his right in Parliament, he should haue Iustice done him accordingly for those things in controuersie. Now for the first poynt concerning the qualitie of his Homage, it was accorded without specifying the same, that it should be done and receiu'd according to the vsuall manner of former Kings, with sufficient time graunted to King *Edward* to inquire of the sayd quallitie, and to make his declaration thereof. And thereupon the sixth of *June 1329.* King *Edward* in a Crimson Velvet gowne Imbroydered with *Leopards*, with his Crowne on his head, his Sword by his side, and Golden Spurres on his heeles, presents himselfe in the body of the Cathedrall Church at *Amiens* before King *Phillip*, sitting in a Chaire of Estate in a Veluet gowne of a Violet colour, Imbroydered with *Floures de lis* of Gold, his Crowne on his head, and his Scepter in his hand with all his Princes and Peeres about him. The Viscount *Melun* Chamberlaine of *Fraunce*, first commaunds King *Edward* to put off his Crowne, his Sword, and his Spurres, and to kneele downe, which hee did on a Crimosine Velvet Cushion before King *Phillip*, and then the Viscount putting both his hands together betweene the hands of the King of *Fraunce*, pronounced the wordes of the Homage, which were these: *You*

become Liegeman to the King my Maister here present as Duke of Guyene and Peere of France, and you promise to beare Faith and Loyalty vnto him. Say yea: and King Edward sayd, Yea, and kisses the King of France (as the Lord of the Fee) in / the mouth, the like Homage hee then did for the Earledome of Ponthieu. (*Jean Tillet.*)

This act of submission performed in the person of a King, young, actiue, hauty and powerfull, who held himselfe wronged in doing it to whom hee did, bred that rancor in his heart, as it had beene better for all Christendome that Ceremony had beene spared at this time, and not so punctually bin exacted by King *Phillip*; whom their owne Historians blame for standing so much vpon his Regality, with one as mighty as himselfe, and more able and likely to shake his new-gotten Throne then any other whatsoeuer: to whose passion considering the fiery heate of his youth, he should rather haue ministred *Oyle* then *Vinegar*, and more hospitably intartained him in his Court, comming with that State and Magnificence, as he did, attended with the best of all the Kingdome of *England* to shew what hee was, and to beget a respect of his high estate. But these are the errours of improvident Princes, who carried with the sway of their owne will, imbroyle themselues and their Subiects, that euer suffer the worst and are sure to pay dearely for others faults.

King *Edward* returned out of *France* intartaines the *Scottish* businesse. *Edward Balliol* come out of *France* defeated his opposers and is crowned king of *Scots*. *Berwick* recovered. The battell of *Halidowne hill*.—And now thus wounded in reputation, with a minde swolne for reuenge, the King of *England* returns to settle his affayres at home, where Scottish businesses fall out to entartayne him. The late peace concluded with them is held so dishonourable, as it must not hold, and to break the same, followed an occasion begun vpon their owne quarrels. The tender age of their King (the affliction of Kingdomes) with the emulation and factions in

great men, put *Edward Balliol* sonne to *John Balliol* (some-time King of *Scotland*) thirty two yeares after his Fathers deposition, to attempt the recouery of that Crowne : And out of *France*, where he had all that while remayned, hee comes by the solicitation of his friends into *England*, where he was permitted vnderhand to get ayde, and had all such Scots and English who were of the faction against *Bruce* to take his part, and with them he suddainly assayles those who had the government of that Kingdom, during the nonage of the young King *Dauid* (beeing at that time with the King of *France*) and ouercame them in a battaile, with the slaughter of many Noblemen, and thousands of the common people, and thereupon was immediately Crowned King of *Scotland* at *Scone*. But this party being not so potent as they could maintayne and defend his quarrell against all those which opposed it, hee was forced notwithstanding this great defeite, to retire him into *England* to get more ayde of King *Edward*; who now shewes himselfe in the action, joynes with *Baliol* against his brother in Law King *Dauid*, goes in Person with a strong Army to recouer *Berwicke*, which after three moneths siege, beeing Valiantly defended by the Lord *Seton*, was agayne taken in, and the Army of the *Scots* which came to the rescue thereof at *Halidowne hill* vtterly defeated : where were slayne seuen Earles, 900. Knights and Baronets, foure hundred Esquires, and about two and thirty thousand common souldiers, as our Writers report, theirs, fourteene thousand. And with the effusion of blood is *Baliol* returned to his miserable Kingdome.

A memorable act in the oppugnation of *Berwicke*.—In this oppugnation of *Berwicke*, though my haste bee great, I must not so much trespassse Vertue, as to ouerpasse one memorable particular, recorded by the Scottish Writers, which is, how the Lord *Seton* seeing all relieve fayling, and the assaults Violent, as hee could not long hold out, conditions with King *Edward*, if rescue came not at such a day to render him vp the Towne ; and for assurance deliuers him two of his sonnes. Shortly

after King *Edward*, hauing notice of the Scottish Army approaching with greater power and speede then hee expected, and likely to be there before the day, *Summons the Lord Seton to render the Town presently, otherwise he should see his two sonnes executed before his face*, and withall a Gallowes is made ready within sight of the Towne, the young Gentlemen brought forth and vnder the hand of the Executioner; wherewith the distressed Lord, rent betwene those powerfull passions of Nature and Honour, standing doubtfull what to doe, his Wife the mother of those sonnes, a Lady more then a Woman, comes vnto him, exhorts him *To remember his Fealty sworne to the King, his Charity to his Country, the dignity of his noble Family, that they had other children left though these were destroied, and besides themselues were not so olde, but that they might haue more. How those, if they should be preserued from death at this / time might otherwise shortly perish by some worse occasion: And what a staine he should lay on the name of Seton, and their Posteritie for euer, by a base act of yeelding and betraying the place committed vnto him: whereby also he was not certaine whether hee should preserue his children or no: For how could he hope that this King, who had violated his first promise with him, would performe the last? And therefore besought him that he would not preferre an uncertaine and momentany benefite, before a certaine and perpetuall ignominy.* And so recouering the Lords resolution for holding out, withdrew him from the Walles, into some other parts aside, that he might not be Spectator of the execution of his innocent Children.

1333. Anno Reg. 7. *Edward Balliol doth Homage for the kingdome of Scotland. A Parliament at London. A remarkable consideration.—The next yeare after this defeite at Hallidowne Hill, Edward Balliol King of Scots at New-Castle doth Homage to the King of England as his Superiour Lord, and takes his Oath of Fealty, Binding himselfe and his heires to hold that Kingdome of him and his successors for euer, with the inheritance of five Countries next adioyning to the Borders.*

So large a part yeelds hee to forgoe, rather then to be in danger to loose the whole, which yet could not secure his estate, but rather imbroyled it the more, by reason of the discontent which most part of the Nobles of *Scotland* conceiued vpon this act of Alienation, and subiection of their Countrey. Insomuch as it gaue both Kings, continuall occasion of trouble for a long time after, with the expence of infinite Treasure. There was granted to the King of *England* for these Warres a *fifteenth* of the *Temporality*, a twelfth of Cities and Boroughes, and a tenth of the Clergy, in a Parliament holden at *London*. And three yeares together the King goes in Person with Armies into those parts, and neuer returned without destruction and blood-shed of that afflicted people: In so much as it may moue vs to admire, how it could be possible that little corner of this Isle, being no more fertile, and withall so often wasted could breed so many (had it bred nothing but men) as had beene slaine in battaile within these fifty yeares past, and yet still be able to supply and furnish their fields with such numbers as they did, both to maintayne their owne quarrells, defend their liberties, and that poore ground they dwelt vpon, which was not worth so much blood as it cost them, deseruing to haue had a better peece of earth, and a more perspicuous place in the world to haue shewed those acts of magnanimity and courage, as they did.

1336. *Anno Reg. 10.*—The reason that moued King *Edward* with such violence to prosecute the busesse of *Scotland* was out of a desire, so to settle the same, as hee might be wholy free for the designes he had vpon *France*, which chiefly hee intended, and was the sooner put thereinto by the instigation of *Robert de Artois*, who beeing chased from thence by King *Phillip* his brother in Law, comes ouer into *England*, and here is intertwyned with great honour.

Robert de Artois discontented with the *French* King. *Robert de Artois* comes into *England*.—This *Robert* a Prince of the blood of *France*, descended from *Robert sonne to Louys* the

eighth, brother to S. *Louys*, had long contention with *Maud* his Aunte, Countesse of *Burgogne*, about the Earledome of *Artois*; and presuming vpon his owne power, his alliance with King *Phillip*, who had married his sister, and the seruice he had done in aduancing him to the Crowne, counterfeites a *Deede* thereby to ouer-throw his Auntes right, which beeing afterward discouered, made it the more, and mooued the French King to giue iudgement on her side, so that the County of *Artois* was by arrest of Parliament confirmed vpon *Maud*; which so offended *Robert*, as in his rage he openly sayd, *Hee would vnmake the King by the same power he made him*: Which rash menace vttered before many witnesses so stung the French King, as presently he layes to apprehend him, but fayling therein, causes him to be Proclaymed Traytor, confiscates all his estate, forbids his Subiects whosoeuer, eyther without or within the Kingdome, which held of that Crowne, in any sort to receyue him, comfort, counsell or ayde him, vpon payne of Confiscation of body and goods: And withall charges them by any meanes to seise vpon his Person, and to send him Prisoner vnto him. (*Jean Tillet*.) Whereupon this chafed Prince, finding no place on that side safe for him, ouer hee comes into *England*, is ioefully entertayned by King *Edward*, made of his Councell, inuested in the Earledome of *Richmond*, and heere is he the *Kindle-fire* betweene these two mighty Nations, and beganne such a flame, as lasted aboue an hundred yeares after, / and the smoake thereof much longer. First he discouers to King *Edward* the secrets of their Councils at *France*, and what meanes had bin vsed for the aduancement of King *Phillip*, whose Title he now disapprooues, and prefers that of King *Edward*, as most iust; and a declaration is published and sent to the Pope, and all the Neighbour Princes shewing the vsurpation of *Phillip de Valois* vpon that Crowne.

King *Edward* made Vicar-generall of the Empire. The making of cloath introduced in this kingdome. The first

sumptuary Law wee finde in our History. King *Edward* wins *Iaques de Artevile*.—Now had King *Edward* euer since his returne from *Amiens* prepared to make good his party to oppose the French King, and by the assistance of his Father in Law *William Earle of Haynault*, combined with the Dukes of *Brabant* and *Gelders*, the Earle of *Juliers*, the Arch-bishop of *Cologne*, *Valeran* his brother, *John of Haynault*, and other Princes of *Germany*. And besides, had of late obtayned by great gifts of *Louys de Bauier*, the present Emperour, to be Vicar-Generall of the Empire, whereby hee was to haue all those Princes confiners vpon *France*, who held of the same, to doe him seruice. And this grace the Emperour did him, the rather for that hee had stood for him against his competitor *Fredericke of Austrich*, with whom the French King tooke part; and besides he had married King *Edwards* Wiues sister, which might bee a motiue to procure him this honour. Then seekes he to gaine and draw in the *Flemings*, whose Earle though adhering to the French King as his Vassall; yet the Cities which euer entertayned a kind of liberty among them-selues, were easily won to take part with King *Edward*, in regard their wealth chiefly grew by the Wools of this Kingdome, which by a Parliament holden at *London*, Anno Reg. 9. were prohibited to bee transported vnwrought. That *Clothes should be made here, and habitation with all Priuiledges and Liberties allowed to such Artificers as would come from other parts to inhabite*. Besides it was enacted, *That none should weare other then English Cloath, except the King, Queene and their Children, that no man should weare any facing of silkes or furres, but such as could dispend 100. pounds per annum*. But those ordinances (more beneficiall to this Kingdome then these Warres will be) were vpon this new-entertayned correspondence with the people of *Flanders*, soone after neglected; but yet the making of cloath continued, and many come out of *Flanders* to exercise that trade in *England*.

Now there was among the *Flemings* one *Iaques de Artevile*,

Citizen of *Gaunt*, a Brewer as some say (but of more then Beere, a man of greatest estimation amongst the people, and was as their Tribune or Chiefetayne in their tumults), him King *Edward* gets by great rewards to take his part, and thereby had them all ready to assayle the French King vpon any occasion.

Meanes vsed for money. 1338. *Anno Reg. 12.* A Subsidy of VVooll. King *Edward* goes into *Flanders* with his wife and children. The French kings partakers. Meanes to appease these two Kings.—Hauing thus prepared his party abroad, all means are deuised to raise monies at home to supply this busines. *A tenth peny of Townes and Boroughs, a fifteenth of others, and a tenth of the Clergy is granted in a Parliament at Northampton.* All such treasure as was committed to Churches throughout England, for the Holy Warre is taken out for the Kings vse in this. The next yeare after, all the goods of three orders of Monks, Lombards, Cluniacqs, and Cistercences are likewise seised into the Kings hands; and the like Subsidie as before, granted at Nottingham. Honors are likewise bestowed on many Noblemen to encourage them in this intended action. Henry of Lancaster the younger, is created Earle of *Derby*, William Mountacute Earle of *Salisbury*, Hugh Audeley Earle of *Glocester*, William Clinton Earle of *Huntington*, William Bohun Earle of *Northampton*, Robert Vfford Earle of *Suffolke*: Prince *Edward* was likewise at this time created Earle of *Chester*, and Duke of *Cornewall*. In *Anno Reg. 12.* at a Parliament at *Northampton*, (as some write in the absence of the King) Was granted by the Laity, one halfe of their Wools, but of the Clergie was leauied the whole, and they were caused to pay nine Markes for euery sacke of fine Wooll. The next yeare after a fifteenth was likewise paid in Wooll by the Communalty. And now for the better managing of this worke abroad (hauing well-accommodated the Scottish affaires) hee goes ouer into *Flanders*, takes with him his Queene and Children, lyes at *Antwerp*, where, by perswasion of the

Flemings he tooke vpon him the Stile, Title, and Armes of the King of *France*—whereby they held they might the better iustifie their partaking in his quarrell, and dispence with their Oathe formerly made to the French King, hauing besides bound themselues in 20. hundred thousand crownes, neuer to beare Armes against the King of *France*—and thereupon the league was established / betweene them and King *Edward*. The French King was not behind in his preparations and Confederacies, hauing to take his part the King of *Bohemia*, the Count Palatine of *Rhene* (who couenanted to serue him against King *Edward* and his adherents, with 300. horse for 56000. *Florins*), the Bishop of *Mets*, *Albert* and *Otho* Dukes of *Austrich*, *Theodore Marquesse of Monserat*, *Amè Earle of Geueua*, besides many Princes of Estate, and diuers great Captaines out of *Germany*, *French-County*, *Sauoy*, *Dauphine*, *Spaine* and other Countryes. So that all the best of the Christian World, are eyther in Armes, or ayding in this quarrell, betweene these two mighty Kings. Long were they preparing and making a noyse before they came to grapple: and much was wrought by the Pope, and the King of *Sicile*, a great Astrologer, who deuined by skill he had in the Starres of much future calamity to *France*, to haue accorded them, which would not be.

The French King seises on the Duchy of *Guyen*. King *Edward* enters into *France*. Knights of the *Hare*.—The Preface of this Warre beganne on the Borders of each others State: On this side King *Edward* sets vpon *Cambray* defended by the French. *Phillip* on the other, seises on the Duchy of *Guyen*, and thither sends *Conte d'Eu* Constable of *France* with the Earles of *Foix* and *Arminiacq.*, who surprize many strong peeces thereof: Besides hee hath a great Nauy at Sea which committed much spoyle on the Coast of *England*. King *Edward* enters *France* by the way of *Vermandois* and *Thierache*, approaches neere to King *Phillip*: Both Armies were lodged betweene *Viron fosse*, and *La Flamenguere*, the

day of the fight appoynted vpon the Friday after, the Battailles on both sides made ready ; the aduantage of number was on the French, but both Armies furnished with braue men of Warre, and circumspect, depart without encounter : The French esteeming it no discretion to put the person, and state of their King to the hazard of Battell within his owne Kingdome : And the English consisting of lesse number, thought fit not to assaile them : And so they passed the day in Countenances, and nothing was done. Only this accident fell out, which after gaue matter of sport : A Hare starting before the head of the French Army, a great shout was suddainly made, which they who were behind supposing to haue beene vpon the on-set of a Battell, disposed themselues to fight : some Esquires for their more incouragement, are according to the custome presently Knighted, who were euer after called *Knights of the Hare.* (*Froissart.*)

1330. Anno Reg. 14.—The next morning earely both Kings dislodge, the French retires to *Paris*, the King of *England* into *Brabant*, where after he had strongly fastened his Confederates, and disposed of his Affayres, he leaues the Queene and returnes into *England* about Candlemasse, hauing beene in *Brabant* aboue a yeare, lands at the Tower about Midnight (and finding it vnguarded was much displeased) sends for the Maior of *London*, whom hee commanded to bring before him the Chancellor and Treasurer, with *John S. Paul*, *Michael Wath*, *Phillip Thorp*, *Henry Stratford* Clergy-men (who it seemes were Officers for his receites) and *John Sconer* Iustice of the Bench, all which, except the Chancellour were arrested and committed to prison, as were afterward in like manner diuerse Officers of Iustice and Accountants vpon inquiry made of their vniust proceeding.

A Parliament at *London*. Great subsidies granted, Custome, at first but temporary. Pardons and Remission of ancient debts. Retribution.—Then cals he a Parliament at *London* in Lent which granted unto him for custome of euery sacke of

Wooll, forty shillings, for euery 300. Wooll-fels forty shillings, for euery last of Leather, forty shillings ; and of other Merchandizes according to that rate, the same to indure from that Easter to the Whitsontide Twelue-moneth after. Besides, there was granted of Citizens and Burgesses, a ninth part of goods, of Forraigne Merchants and other a fifteenth, of Husbandmen the ninth Sheaffe, the ninth Fleece, the ninth Lambe for two yeares. Also another tenth of the Clergy. And for his present supply, he hath Loanes of diuers wealthy Persons, and the City of London lent 20000. Markes. For the grant of which mighty Subsidy, the King (besides his Pardon to diuers kinds of offenders) remits all Amercements for transgression in his Forrests, Relieves and Scutage vnto the first time of his going into Flanders : Besides all aides for the marriages of his Sonnes and Daughters during his raigne : pardoning and remitting all ancient debts and arrerages both of his Fermors and others any way due in the time of his Progenitors and his owne, till the tenth yeare of his Raigne (excepting such as were compounded for, and determined to be paide into his Exchequer) and here he likewise confirmes the great Charter. /

The Earles of *Salisbury* and *Suffolke* taken prisoners in *France*.—King *Edward* vanquishes the *French* kings great Nauy.—During King *Edwards* abode in *England*, *William Montague* Earle of *Salisbury*, and *Robert Vfford* Earle of *Suffolke*, left in *Flanders* to oppose the proceeding of the *French*, having performed diuers great exploits with happy successe, and presuming ouermuch vpon their fortune, were in an encounter about *Lisle*, so overlayd by multitude, as they were both taken and sent prisoners to *Paris*, to the great ioy of the *French* King: who now to impeach the King of *Englands* returne, had prepared a mightie Nauy in the Hauen of *Sluce*, consisting of two hundred Sayle of Ships (besides many Gallies) and two thousand armed men in the Port, ready to encounter him vpon his landing: Whereof King *Edward* being aduertised, prouides great strength, with the like number of

Ships, and sets out to Sea vpon Midsomer Eue, is met the morrow after with a Nauy likewise from the North parts, conducted by Sir *Robert Morley*, and incounters his enemy which lay to intercept him, with such force and courage, and aduantage of wind and Sunne, as he vtterly defeated their whole Nauie, tooke or sunke all their ships, slue thirty thousand men, and landed with as great glory, as such a victory (the greatest that euer before was gotten by the *English at Sea*) could yeeld. Most of the *French*, rather then to indure the Arrowes, and sharpe swords of the *English*, or be taken, desperately leape into the Sea. Whereupon the *French* Kings Iester, set on to giue him notice of this ouerthrow (which being so ill newes, none else willingly would impart on the sudden) sayd, and oftentimes re-iterated the same, *Cowardly Englishmen, Dastardly Englishmen, Faint-hearted Englishmen!* The King at length asked him *Why*: For that sayd he, *They durst not leape out of their Ships into the Sea, as our braue French-men did.* By which speech the King apprehended a notion of this ouerthrow: which the *French* attribute to *Nicholas Buchet* one of their chiefe Commanders, who had armed his ships with men of base condition (content with small pay) and refused Gentlemen, and sufficient Souldiers, in regard they required greater wages: and it often happens that the Auarice of Commaunders haue bene the occasion of great defeits. (*Jean Tillet.*)

King *Edward* besieges *Tourney*, and sends his Challenge to the *French* king.—But this losse much abated the power of the *French* King, who notwithstanding in these Martiall times was soone supplied, both out of his owne Dominions, and those of his Confederates, and makes a mighty head against this victorious, powerfull and freshly-furnished King of *England*; who sudainely set downe before *Tourney*, with all his owne and his adherents forces. And from *Chyn* (a place neere by where hee lodged) sends his *Cartill* the 17. of July, to *Philip de Valois*, lodging at S. *Andrew les Aire* with his puissant

armie. Declaring how he with the power of his owne Kingdome, and ayde of the Flemmings, was come to recover his right in the Kingdom of France vniustly detained from him, contrary to the Lawes of God and Man: and that seeing no other meanes would serue, he was forced in this manner to haue recourse to his Sword. Notwithstanding seeing the businesse was betweene them two, he offers for the auoiding of Christian blood, and deuastation of the Country, to try the same by Combat in close Campe, body to body, or each of them accompanied with 100. choyce persons: which if the said Phillip refused, then to strike battell within ten dayes after, before the City of Tourney.

The French kings answer to the Challenge.—*Phillip de Valois returnes answer the last of July in this manner, Phillip by the grace of God King of France, to Edward King of England: We haue perused your letters sent to the Court of Philip de Valois, containing certaine requests to the sayd Philip: and for that it appeares those letters & requests were not written or made vnto vs, we will in no sort answer you. But seeing by those letters, and otherwise we understand how you, led by wilfulnesse, without all reason, haue entred our Kingdome of France with armed power, and committed no small dammage in the same, and on our people, contrary to the duty of a Liegeman: hauing lately sworne Homage vnto vs, acknowledging vs, as by right King of France, and haue promised that obedience which is due from the Vassall to his Liege-lord, as is manifest by your Letters-Patents under your great Seale, which we haue with vs, and you likewise ought to haue the same with you. And therefore our intention is as becomes our Honour, to chace you out of our Kingdome, as we firmly hope in Christ (from whom we haue our power) to do. For that by this your warre, most wickedly begun, our Iourney undertaken for the East is hindred, no small number of Christians there murdered, the Holy seruice neglected, and the Church dishonored. And whereas you alledge you posseſſe the ayde of the Flemmings, we are assuredly / perswaded, that they with the Communalty of their Country, will so beare*

themselves towards our counsen their Earle and vs their superiour Lords, as they will not omit to obserue their honor and fidelity, whatsoeuer hath beene by some, through ill counsell perpetrated for their owne priuate, contrary to the common good.

The French write how King *Phillip* with this Letter sent word to King *Edward*, how by his Cartell he aduentured nothing of his owne, but onely exposed the dominion of another, which was without all reason. If he would hazard the kingdom of England, (though it were lesse) against the kingdom of France, the said king *Philip* would enter combate in close campe with him, on condition the Victor should enjoy both Kingdomes. But that, they say, King *Edward* would not doe.

A mediation for peace. A Truce concluded. *Anno Reg. 5.* — Three moneths the siege of *Turney* had continued (and nothing effected but the waste of the Countrey about) all the eyes of Christendome bent vpon this action, both Kingdomes deeply ingaged, expecting with anxiety the doubtfull euent thereof, when *Jane de Valois* sister to *Philip*, widow of *William late Duke of Haynault*, and mother to *Philippa* wife to King *Edward*, a Princesse of excellent vertue, came from *Founnelles* where she had rendered her selfe a Nun vowed to God, to mediate a peace between these two enraged Kings, her brother and her sonne in Law ; and labours to stay the sword of destruction lift vp for blood, trauailing from one to another (stubbornly bent to their intentions) and neuer left them (though often denied) till shee had with great patience and wise counsell, qualified their boylng passions, in such sort as she obtained day and place for both Kings to parle together. A memorable worke to be effected by a woman, especially in such an age of Iron as that was. This parle brought forth a truce for one yeare, and both these great Armies are dissolved. The French King returnes home, and so doth the King of *England* with his Queene : who had remayned in those parts three yeares, and had there brought forth two sonnes, *Lionell*, afterwards Duke of *Clarence*, and *John* borne

at *Gant*, who first was Earle of *Richmond*, and after Duke of *Lancaster*.

John Stratford Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* his letters to king *Edward*.—But King *Edwards* condescending to this suddaine truce, had indeed no other motiue then the want of his supplies of Treasure, which came shortly to his expectation, notwithstanding those mighty impositions which were layde on his Subjects. And whereas hee had vpon his last returne into *England*, in great displeasure, remoued his Chancellour, and imprisoned his Treasurer, with other Officers (most of them Clergymen) and still held them in durance, *John Stratford* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, (on whom the King layd the blame of his wants) writes him a most bold and peremptory Letter to this effect: first shewing him, *How it was for the safety of Kings and their kingdoms, to use graue and wise Councillors, alledging many examples out of holy Writ of the flourishing happiness of such as tooke that course, and their infelicity who followed the contrary.* Then wills him to remember how his father led by euill counsell vexed the kingdome, putting to death, contrary to the Law of the Land, diuers of the Nobility, and wished him to consider what hapned thereby vnto him. Also to call to minde, how himselfe at first, through euill Councell about him, had almost lost the hearts of his people. But afterwards, by the great circumspection and care of his Prelates and Nobles, his affaires were reduced into so good order as he recovered them, and now possessed them in such sort, as they all, both Clergie and Lay, haue yeelded their helping hands, more to him then to any of his Progenitors, whereby he had gloriously Triumphed ouer his enemies, the French and Scots, and is reputed the noblest Prince of Christendome. But now at this present, through the wicked counsell of such as affect their owne profit more then his honour, or the welfare of his people, hee had caused Clergy-men and others to be arrested, and held in prison by the vndue proceeding, contrary to the Lawes of *England* (which he was bound by his oath at his Coronation to obserue) and against *Magna*.

Charta, which whosoeuer shall presume to infringe, are to bee by the Prelates (according to the Bull of Pope *Innocent the fourth*) Excommunicate. So that hereby he incurred no small danger to his soule, and detriment to the State and honour. Then hee telleth him, how he doubted that if the King proceeded in this manner, he should lose both the hearts of his people and their helpe, in such sort as he should not be able to prosecute his War in hand, and thereby giue his enemies heart and occasion to rise against him, to / the hazard of his honour and the Kingdome. And therefore aduises him to assemble the Nobles and prudent men of the Land, and to consult with them (without whose ayde and counsell he could not gouerne his kingdom, or performe his enterprises) concerning what was amisse. And whereas, said he, certaine neere about you by their adulacion and soothing, falsly betray and deceiue you, we here denounce them excommunicate, and beseech you as your spiritual Father, that you hold them so. Besides, he vrges him, that whereas through the negligence of some Ministers of his, the City of Turney was not gotten, the matter might be examined in Parliament, and inquiry made, to whose hands, from the beginning of the War, the Wools and Monies are committed to be bestowed; and by whose default the City of Turney was not subdued, but left in such manner as it was; and that as an equall and wise Lord he would chastise such as were culpable, and not condemne or misdeeme his subiects without sufficient tryal, &c. The letter bare date the 1. of Ianuary.

Then writes he also to *Robert Bouster* Chancellor of *England*, shewing him what contribution the Clergy had yeelded to the King by their free consents, and that none other were to be exacted of them. Requiring him to doe nothing preiudiciale to the *Lawe of Magna Charta*; and that if any *Writ, Commission, or Precept* had gone out of the Chancery contrarie thereunto, or the Priuiledges and Liberties of the Church or Kingdome, hee should within ten dayes after the receipt of these his Letters (as hee saide the Chancellour was

bound to doe) reuoke and annul the same. This bare date the 28. of January.

Another Letter he likewise sends to the King and his whole Councell, declaring that *Whereas contrary to the priuiledges and liberties of the Church and Kingdome contayned in Magna Charta, Iohn de Saint Paul, Michael de Wath, Robert Chickwill, Iohn Thorpe and Henry Stratford, were arrested, committed to prison, and there detayned without beeing indited, or conuicted of any notorious crime, and that whosoeuer were ayding or councelling to this proceeding had incurred the sentence of the Canon, which he had caused to be published both in his own Dioces, and in all other of his suffragans.* And therfore besought the King and his whole Councell, without delay to deliuer the said Prisoners, otherwise (hee plainly writes) that according to his Pastorall charge, he must proceede to the execution of the sentence. (*Quatenus de iure poterunt excusari.*) Concluding how notwithstanding it was not his intention to include therein the King, Queene, or their children, so farre as they might by Law be excused.

To this purpose he likewise sends to the Bishop of *London*, and other his Suffragan-Bishops, (whom after hauing complayned of the great exactions and wrongs done to the Church by lay men) hee charged him not onely to denounce and publish in their Church, but fixe vp in all eminent places the sentence of Excommunication, against all offenders in those articles of Magna Charta: which are at large added to his Letter, to the end (as he said) that every man might know the danger, and none pretend to be ignorant thereof.

King *Edward* accuses the Arch-bishop of false dealing.—The King wakened with this clamour of the Arch-bishop, is faine to apologize for himselfe, by his letters written to the Bishop of *London*, wherein, after hauing declared how much hee had euer honoured and trusted the Arch-bishop, hee accuses him of manifest wrong, for that *Relying vpon his councell, hee was put at first vpon this action against the French King, and by him assured he should not want treasure and*

meanes for the performance thereof, and that he needed not to care but onely to prouide men to execute the worke. And how notwithstanding, through the negligence or malice of the said Arch-bishop and his Officials, those prouisions granted him by his subiects in Parliament, were in so slender proportion leuied, and with such delaies sent ouer, as he was prest of necessity (to his great grief and shame) to condiscend to the late trace, and through extreame wants (charged with mighty debts) forced to throw himselfe into the gulph of the Vsurers; in such sort, as hauing iust cause, he began to looke into the dealing of his Officers: some of whom vpon apparant notice of their ill administration of iustice, their corruptions and oppression of his subiects, he remoued from their places, and some of inferiour degree culpable of the same offences, hee committed to Prison, and there detayned them, to the end he might finde out by their examinations, the truth of their proceedings, whereof none could so well informe him as the Arch-bishop, to whom of long time, he had committed the whole administration of the Kingdome. And therfore desirous to confer with him at London, he had of late sent an especiall Messenger, his trusty seruant Nicholas de Cantelupe, that he should repaire thither: Which the Arch-bishop refused to do, alledging how hee stood in feare of some about the King, and therefore would not endanger himselfe, nor depart from his Church. Then the King sent Ralph Stafford, the Steward of his house, with safe-conduct vnder his great Seale for the Arch-bishops security. Notwithstanding he refuses to come, returning word how he would haue no conference with the King but in open Parliament: which at that time (said the King) was not for especial reasons conuenient to be called. Then aggrauates he the vndutifull contempt of the Arch-bishop and his hypocriticall dealing with him: auowing that although by hereditary right, and the diuine grace he was aduanced to that sublimity of regall power, hee held it alwayes to haue beene a detestable thing to abuse the greatnessse therof, and how he affected nothing more in the world, then to gouerne his subiects with mildness, clemency, and

moderation of Justice, that he might with peace enjoy their loue. And how notwithstanding, the Arch-bishop had most iniuriously (by his letters published in diuere parts) torne his innocency, and slandered the faithfull seruice of his Councillors and Officers, who executed his regall Justice, exclaiming how the people were opprest, the Clergie confounded, the Kingdome agrieued with taxations, and all kinde of exactions. Which the King argues was to no other end, but to rayse sedition amongst his people, and to withdraw their loue and obedience from him. Lastly, to giue notice of the Arch-bishops corruption, he declares how, himselfe beeing under age, had through his counsell made so many prodigall donations, prohibited alienations and excessive gifts, as thereby his treasury was vtterly exhausted, and his reuenues diminished, and how the Arch-bishop corrupted with bribes, remitted without reasonable cause, great summes which were due unto him, applying to his proper vse, or to persons ill-deseruing, many commodities and reuenues which should haue beeene preserued for his necessary prouisions. And therefore concluded, vnesse he desisted from this his rebellious obstinacy, hee intended in due time and place more openly to proceed against him; inioyning them to publish all and singular these his malignities, and to cause others to do the like, for the manifestation of his owne pious and Princely intention, in relieving his owne and his subiects wrongs. This letter was said to haue bin penned by Adam Bishop of Winchester, and bare date the 12. of February, Anno Reg. 15.

Thus the King and his Officers, whose proceedings must not receiue a checke, are cleared, and the imputation rests vppon the Arch-bishop, who is charged with great accounts, and pressed by such as lent the King mony, to render the same. But shortly after the King found much to doe in the Parliament held at London, being earnestly petitioned by the whole Assembly of the three Estates, that the great Charter of Lyberties, and the Charter of Forrests might be duly obserued, and that whosoeuer of the Kings Officers infringed the same should lose their place; that the high Officers

of the Kingdome, shold as in former times be elected by Parliament. The King stood stiffe vpon his owne election and prerogatiue, but yet yeelded, (in regard to haue his present turne serued, as himselfe after confessed) these Officers should receyue an oath in Parliament, to doe iustice vnto all men in their Offices: and thereupon a Statute was made and confirmed with the Kings Seale (*Vid. Stat. 15. Edward. 3*); both for that, and many other grants of his to the subiects, which notwithstanding were for the most part presently after reuoked.

The Articles, *Vid. Appen.* The Emperour reuokes the Vicariate: the reason why, *Vid. Appen.*—The truce agreed on before Turney for one yeare, was by the Commissioners of both Kings, and two Cardinals from the Pope, concluded at *Arras*, which yeelded some cessation of Armes, but not of plotting more mischiefe. *Louys of Bauier* (intituled Emperour) is won to the party of the French King, becomes his sworne Confederate, and reuokes the Viceroyship of the Empire, formerly confirmed on the King of England, pretending the cause to be for concluding the late truce without him, as appeares by his letters to King *Edward*, which are agayne by him fully and discreetly answered.

The controuersie for the Dutchy of *Brittaine*. *Monfort* doth homage for the Duke of *Brittaine* to King *Edward*. *Monfort* taken Prisoner. His wife prosecutes her husbands quarrell. Forces sent ouer into *Brittaine*. The death of *Robert de Artois*.—But in stead of this remote and vnconstant Confederate (whose power lay without the limits of France) Fortune brought in another more neere, and of readier meanes to offend, within the body of that Kingdome. The inheritance of the Duchy of *Brittaine* is in controuersie betweene *Charles de Bloys*, Nephew to King *Phillip*, and *John de Monfort*, vpon this Title: *Arthur* Duke of *Brittaine* had by *Beatrix* his first Wife, two Sonnes, *John* and *Guy*, by *Yoland Countesse of Monfort* his second Wife *John / de Monfort*. *John* the eldest sonne of *Arthur* hauing no issue, ordayned *Jane* his Neece,

daughter to his brother *Guy* (who dyed before him) to succeede him in the Duchy. This *Jane, Charles de Blois* marries, on condition that his issue by her should inherit the same, wherein after consummation of the Marriage hee is inuested, and had homage done vnto him during the life of *John* their Vnkle. But after his death, *John de Monfort* claymes the Duchy, and comes to *Paris* to doe homage for the same to the *French King*. *Charles de Blois* in the right of his Wife, opposes him, the controuersie is referred to the Parliament. Sentence passes on the side of *Charles*. *Monfort* enraged repayres to the King of *England*, doth homage vnto him for the Duchy, is receyued with great applause, and his title (howsoeuer held bad at home) is heere made to bee good. Returning back into *Brittaine* both with comfort and means, after some encounters with his enemy, hee is taken and committed Prisoner to the *Lovure* in *Paris*: His wife the Countesse of *Monfort* sister to *Louys Earle of Flanders* (a Lady who seemed to haue more of the man then her brother) prosecutes her husbands quarrell, puts on Armour, leads and encourages her people, surprises and defends many strong pieces of *Brittaine*; but in the end, like to be ouerlayd by the power of *Charles de Blois*, shee craues ayde of the King of *England*, and hath it sent, vnder the Conduct of the Lord *Walter de Manny*; which relieved her for the present, but the future required more, whereof King *Edward* was not sparing, in regard of his owne designes: for aydes are seldom sent to Forrainers but for the senders benefit. The Lady her selfe comes ouer into *England* to treate both for supplyes and alliance, tendring a match betweene her sonne and a daughter of King *Edward*. The Earles *Salisbury*, *Pembroke*, and *Suffolke*, the Lords *Stafford*, *Spencer* and *Bourchier*, with *Robert de Artois Earle of Richmond*, are sent with great forces backe with the Lady. Many were the encounters, surprises and recouerings of Fortes betweene the English and the *French*; and in this action *Robert de Artois* receiuied his last

wound, at the siege of *Vannes*, but yet was brought to dye in *England*, it being not in his Fate, that his Country (which by his meanes had suffered so much affliction) should haue his bones, though it had his blood: which hee lost with little honour, though with much valour, leauing behinde him but the fame of a Rebell, after he had serued the English about sixe yeares.

King *Edward* shortly after these supplies sent into *Brittaine*, goes himselfe in Person with more, and lying before *Vannes* (lately recouered by the French) *John Duke of Normandy*, eldest sonne to the French King, sent to ayde *Charles de Blois*, with an Army of forty thousand, came to giue him battaile, and beeing vpon the poynt of encounter, a mediation of truce is made by two Cardinals, sent from Pope *Clement* the sixt, and concluded for three yeares, vpon many conditions, with a reference to the Pope, and the Court of *Rome*, to heare and examine the differences betwixt the two Kingdomes, but not to determine them without the consent of both Kings. This pause agayne giues them more time to worke for greater Wounds, and nothing is left vnpractised that might aduance the same. And though the people now seemed to put off their Armour, they left not off armes, but had diuerse bickrings, both in *Brittaine* and *Gascony*, for which eyther side accused other.

1343. Anno Reg. 17.—King *Edward* returning, makes an expedition into *Scotland* against King *Dauid*, whom he chased into the Ilands; and here the Isle of *Man* is conquered by *William Montacute Earle of Salisbury*, whom King *Edward* caused to be stiled King thereof, and returning backe, solemne Turneaments are held at *Dunstable*, where hee is attended with 230. Knights. For now all the pastime and exercise in *England* were Iustes and Turneaments held in *Smith-field*, *Windsor* and other places. A society of Knights of the round Table, in imitation of King *Arthur*, is designed, and a magnifi- cent chamber of 200. foot round erected for the same at *Windsor*, and to this society many strangers of other Countries

are allured. The French King also practises the like Martiall association in *France*.

The institution of the order of the Garter.—And about this time beganne the Order of the Garter, instituted at *Windsor* vpon a solemne Feast there celebrated (which held for many dayes) and serued that time as an Embleme of a tye and combinement, in honour of such as were admitted thereunto, which was the end of the constitution thereof: Howsoeuer the Garter of the Countesse / of *Salisbury*, taken vp by the King in dancing with her, was sayd to haue beene the occasion. But it were some derogation to that noble institution, to impute the originall thereof to an Act of Leuity, seeing with what a graue and religious Ceremony it is performed. Although, we see oftentimes, accidents of little consequence giue beginnings to things of great estimation, which time makes venerable.

The Nobility write to the Pope concerning his collation of Benefices in *England*. Sir *John Shordich* sent with these Letters.—But besides these exercises of Armes, this great and prouident King, during this truce, takes especiall care for the gouernment of the Kingdome, and reformation of the abuses thereof, which daily grow as diseases in full bodies, and must of necessity haue sometimes their cure, otherwise there will be no health in a State. A Parliament is called at *Westminster*, wherein vpon the grieuous complaint exhibited by the Earles, Barons, Knights and Burgesses against the collation of Benefices on strangers, a letter was sent to Pope *Clement* the sixt, in humble manner beseeching him to consider, *How inconuenient and derogatory it was to the State of the Kingdome of England, that such reseruations, prouisions and collations of Benefices as had beene formerly used, should in such sort be continued. For that the Churches of England had in times past bin endowed by noble and worthy persons: to the end the people might bee instructed by such as were of their owne language; and how by the usurpation of some of his predecessors, strangers and sometimes enemies to the Realme, were preferred to many of them,*

wherby the money and profits were transported, the Cures unfurnished, almes and Hospitality vnused, the edifices ruined, the charity and deuotion of the people diminished, and many other grieuous enormities, contrary to the will of the Founders, occasioned: which they could not suffer any longer, and therfore besought his holinesse wholy to reuoke such reseruations, prouision and collations, that meete and native persons might exercise the Cures, and without delay to signifie his intention therein, otherwise they meant to employ their diligence, that remedy and redresse might be had according to reason. The date of these letters was in full Parliament at Westminster the 28. of May, 1343. with which were likewise sent the Kings Letters to the same effect, by Sir John Shordich, a graue person and of great vnderstanding in the Law; whose message made him so vnwelcome to that Court, as hee departed without leaue, or answere, which though the Pope afterward sent: Yet the King proceeded to the prohibition of all such prouisions and collations within his Realme, on payne of imprisonment, or death to whomsoeuer should in time to come present or admit any such person or persons, who by the Pope were so preferred to the preuidice of the Kings Royall prerogatiue. And to this effect were Writs directed to al Archbishops, Bishops, and others to whom it appertayned, inhibiting them in no wise to attempt any thing preuidiciale to this ordinance.

The Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* reconciled.—Heere is the Arch-bishop *Stratford* with much adoe vpon his submission reconciled to the Kings fauour. And much debating there is in this Parliament concerning Wools and the asseasement of certayne prices vpon the same, more or lesse, according to the seuerall parts of the Realme: And concerning customes to bee imposed on them, as at three Markes and a halfe vpon the transportation of euery sacke; but it seemes nothing was done in this businesse.

Prince *Edward* created Prince of *Wales*.—Prince *Edward* about the age of 13. is created Prince of *Wales*, and

Commissioners are appoynted to be sent to the Pope to treate of Peace betweene the two Kings, according to the Articles concluded in the truce, which were *John Bishop of Exeter, Henry de Lancaster Earle of Derby, Hugh de Dispencer Lord of Glamorgan, Cousins to the King, Ralph Lord Stafford* with others.

1344. Anno Reg. 18. A Parliament. Generall musters and appoynting of Armour.—The next yeare after another Parliament, or the same proroged, is held at *London*, wherein after much altercation, a tenth was granted by the Clergy, and a fifteenth by the Laytie for one yeare, and a certayne Coyne of gold called the *Floren* of base alloy, which had beene for the Warres in *France*, is decryed, and nobles of finer coyned, to the great liking of the subiects. And for their better commodity the exchange of monies at *London, Canterbury* and *Yorke* is ordayned. Shortly after, generall Musters are taken throughout the Kingdome, and certificate made of all sufficient and able Bowmen, and of all other fit to beare Armes. Besides, a Commission is sent into euery Country to enquire of mens abilities, and of all fие pounds to ten of lay Fee, were appoynted to finde an Archer on horse-backe, of 25. pounds, a Demilance, and so ratably aboue. / The King himselfe goes in person to confirme and make the *Flemings* fast vnto him ; and at *Sluce, Iaques de Arteuile* with other Commissioners from their chiefe Townes, repaire vnto him, where a motion is made, that either *Louys* their Earle should do homage to the King of *England*, or else be disinherited, and *Edward Prince of Wales* receyued for their Lord ; for which King *Edward* promises to erect their County to a Dukedom. *Arteuile* was forward to entartayne this motion ; but the rest of the Commissioners require leauue to acquaint therewith the Townes that sent them, which though they were all desirous to haue the Protection of the King of *England*, yet disliked the disinheriting of their naturall Lord. *Arteuile* notwithstanding vndertakes to induce them vnto it, and returns to *Gant*,

guarded with fие hundred Welsh, which he desired to haue, for that one *Gerrard Denyse* Prouost of the *Weauers* opposed him, and sought his destruction. The people whom he had so often led to mutiny against others, now vpon his returne rose agayne himselfe, and a Cobler with an Axe strake out his braines. And so King *Edward* lost his great Agent, which much displeased him, and disappointed his businesse in those parts. Yet the Townes sent to excuse themselues of this accident, laying the fault on the turbulent *Gantoy*, and in all things vowing their faithfull seruice vnto him: onely to the disinheriting of their Earle they could not consent. But they hoped to perswade him to become his homager, and to procure a match betweene the sonne of their Earle, and his daughter. And thus pacifying his present displeasure, the league is renued betwixt them, and King *Edward* returnes to prosecute his other designes.

But now the Warres in *Guien* grew hot, the Earle of *Derby* Generall of the Army, assaults and takes in *Ville-Franche*, *Agenois*, *Angolesme*, *Rions*, *Saint Basile*, with many other Cities and Castles. The French King sends his eldest sonne *John Duke of Normandy* to encounter him, who recouers the Cities of *Angolesme* and *Ville-Franche*, and thus is the sword out before the Truce is expired: the breach whereof, the French King layes on the King of *England*, and hee the same on him, for entertayning King *Dauid*, and setting the *Scots* vpon attempts of inuasion of his Realme. So that it seemes both were prepared to breake, not able to holde their hands any longer from the fatall worke of destruction.

1346. Anno Reg. 20. The king goes with a mighty army into *Normandy*. *John de Beaumont* when King *Edward* had made him Earle of *Cambridge*, takes the French kings part. The manner of King *Edward* proceeding with his army.—It was now the twentieth yeare of this mighty and actiuе Kings Raigne, wherein hee had prepared the greatest Fleete that euer yet crossed the Seas for *France*, and ouer he passes into

Normandy in *July*, leauing for *Wardens of England* in his absence, the Lords *Piercy* and *Neuile*, taking the young Prince with him, about the age of fifteene yeeres, to learne him the way of men, and what trauaile greatnesse was borne to endure, to attayne glory in this World. His Army consisted of foure thousand men at armes, and ten thousand Archers, besides Welsh and Irish, which followed on Foot; hee had of Earles, *Hereford*, *Northampton*, *Arundell*, *Huntingdon*, *Warwicke*, *Suffolke*, and *Oxford*: Of Barons, *Mortimer* (who was after Earle of *Marche*), *John Louys*, and *Roger Beauchamp*, *Cobham*, *Lucy*, *Basset*, *Barkeley*, and *Willoughby*, with diuers other, both Knights and gallant Captaynes. He had of late entertayned *Godfrey de Harecourt*, who had beene as a Minion to the French King, and became another *Robert de Artois*, vpon some discontent, or doubt of some discoueries of fauouring the English party in *Brittaine*, for which cause the French King had a little before executed *Oliuer de Clisson*, *Bacon*, *Piercy*, *Geffery de Malestroit*, men of especiall marke, whom hee had there imployed. And now in stead of this *Harecourt* had won from King *Edward* the Lord *John de Beaucham*, who had long serued him, was his wiues Uncle, and acquainted with all his courses. Such is the trust of mercinaries, who sell their faith for better entertaynment. Neyther did this *Harecourt* long hold out, but changed colours, and made his peace with the French King, his naturall Lord: But in the meane time, did him and his Countrey much mischiefe. For vpon king *Edwards* landing with his mighty Army, in the Isle of *Constantine* in *Normandy* by his Conduction, hee made him one of his Marshals, and the Earle of *Warwicke* the other. The Earle of *Arundel* is appoynted Constable. Hee diuides people into three battailes, one to march on his left hand, along the Sea Coast; the other on the right, conducted by the two Marshalls; / and himselfe in the midst with his mayne Army. The Earle of *Huntingdon* employed for Admiral of his Fleete, was to take all the ships he found on the Sea-coast. The three

Armies by land lodged euery night in one field. And first he sakes the City of *Caranton*, slew all he found armed or disarmed therein, burnes, razes, desolates the City, saying he sacrificed those oblations to *Bacon*, *Piercy*, and others (whose heads hee found set vpon the principall Gate) vnjustly massacred by *Philip*. Thence he marches forward, and tooke Saint *Lo*, a rich Towne of Merchandise, and pillaged the same. Then after some bickering, became Master of *Caen*, and put all that Countrey into so great terror, as *Falaise*, *Lyseaux*, *Honfleur*, strong walled Townes, rendered themselues vnto him. This done, he spread his power in the Isle of *France*, to draw out *Philip* to the combate, giuing out that he would wrastle with him in the eye of all *France*, on the great Theater before his Capitall City of *Paris*.

The French king prepares to oppose king *Edward*. King *Edward* goes ouer the Riuier of *Some*, defeites the *French*. The French king resolues to encounter king *Edward*. His impatience and his hopes.—*Phillip* this while helde not his armes in his bosome, but had ramassed one of the fayrest Armies, sayth the French History, that euer was seene in *France*, composed of *French*, *Lorraines*, *Almaines*, *Genouys*, which hee led towards *Meulan*, where King *Edward* was said to haue made a stand and attended him; but vpon report of his comming on, retyres: it was supposed hee fled for feare, but the euent shewed that the great God of Armies had destined his victory for another place. King *Phillip* followes and ouertakes him at a Village called *Arenes*, a name remarkable (signifying the *Sand*) to shew on what vnstable earth all the trust of humaine forces, and the designes of the great are founded. This mighty Army of King *Phillip*, hauing the aduantage to be at home where all was theirs, made him account the Victory certayne. King *Edward* retyres to gaine the Riuier of *Some* at *Blanquetaque*, but the passage was to be disputed by the sword. For *Phillip* had before sent thither *Gundemar de Fay*, with a thousand Horse, and sixe thousand

Foote. King *Edward* notwithstanding resolues to passe or perish, and plunges formost into the Riuer, crying out: *They who loue mee, will follow mee.* At which voyce all thrust in without dispute, striuing who should be formost; and loe presently the shore gayned by the English! *Gundemar* astonished with this vnxpected and bold aduenture, astonishes his people by his fearefull Countenance. So that the English encountering the *French* all in disorder, fell vpon them and put them to flight. But the retreate was neere to *Abbe-ville* and *Saint Requier*. The losse was not so great as the shame, but serued as a presage for a greater mischiefe to *France*. These disrouted men all affrighted flocke into *Abbe-ville*. Where King *Phillip* enraged with this dishonour, resolued to reuenge it, and presently to prouoke King *Edward* to the Combate. The aduise of his Councell was otherwise: to suffer his troupes to repose some few dayes and recouer their spirits, and King *Edward* to coole and spend his, in the meane while. But hardly had this King the patience to stay in *Abbe-ville* one day, whiles the bridge to passe ouer his Army was repayring. And with this precipitation and fury, into the field he marches, eleuated with an assured hope of a Tryumphant Victory.

The ordring of King *Edwards* Army.—King *Edward* better-tempered, manages his worke with admirable discretion and Vigilancy, and had now encamped in a Village called *Cracy*, and there entrenched and fortified himselfe, not onely with the Trees of the Forrest about it, but with deepe rampiers, and other defences besides: causing also a Parke to bee paled vnder the Wood side behinde his Hoste, wherein were placed all the Carts and Carriages. His Army consisted of thirty thousand men, but in order and courage double the number. The Vauntgard he gaue to the Prince, and for guides the Earle of *Warwiche*, *Godfrey de Harecourt*, the Lords *Stafford*, *De la ware*, *Bourcheir*, *Clifford*, *Cobham*, *Holland*, Sir *John Chandos*, Sir *Bartholomew Burwash*, Sir *Robert Neuile* with eight

hundred men at Armes, and two thousand Archers, besides a thousand other, most of them Welshmen. The second battaile was committed to the Earles *Arundell* and *Northampton*, the Lords *Rosse*, *Willoughby*, *Basset*, Saint *Albin*, *Multon*, and others, wherein were eight hundred men at Armes, and twelue hundred Archers. The third battaile the King led himselfe, hauing seuen hundred men at Armes, and two thousand Archers. These Battailles thus ordered, mounted on a white Hobby, hee rode from ranke to ranke / to view them, the one Marshall on his right hand, the other on his left, incouraging euery man that day to haue regard to his right and honor.

The ordering of the French kings Army at the battell of *Cressy*.—The French Kings Army was greater both in lustre and aduantage, composed of aboue sixty thousand Combatants well armed, whereof the chiefe were, *Charles* Earle of *Alanson* the Kings brother, *John de Luxembourg* King of *Bohemia*, *Charles de Bloys* the Kings Nephew, *Ralph* Duke of *Lorrayne*, the Earle of *Flanders*, *Neuers*, *Sancerre*, the *Dolphin de Viennois*: of Barons, Knights, and Gentlemen, aboue three thousand: and on the Eue of the Battaile, *Amé* Earle of *Sauoy* arriued with a thousand men at Armes more, which made the French King swell with assurance of the Maisterie, so that he longed to be at the encounter. The Vauntguard he commits to his Brother *Conte d'Alanson*, the Reere to the Earle of *Sauoy*, the Maine Battaile he leades himselfe: his heate would scarce permit time for a little Councell what was fit to be done. The old King of *Bohemia* aduised that the Army should first take some repast, and that the Infanterie consisting of *Genouese* (which were about fifteene thousand Crosse-bowes, and sure men) should make the first front, and the Cauallarie to follow; which was agreed on. After this repast the Vauntgard set on, the *Conte d'Alanson*, contrary to this order, tooke it ill that the *Genouese* were in the first ranke, and in fury caused them to change place, which changed the

Seat of the Army, and wrought that discontent as it irritated them more against the Leader then the enemy: besides there fell at the instant a piercing shower of raine, which dissoluued their strings and made their bowes vnusefull, and at the breaking vp of the shower, the Sunne shone full in the face of the French (dazzling their sight) and on the backes of the English, as if all made for them.

King *Edward* discouers the disorders of the French. King *Edward* obtaines the Victory in this great battell of *Cressy*. The French king flyes. The number of the slaine.—King *Edward* who had gotten to a Wind-mill-hill, beholding as from a Sentinel, with a settled spirit, the countenance of the enemy, and discouering both this accident, and the hurlement made by the change of place, slackes not to take aduantage thereof, and instantly sends to charge that part, without giuing them time to re-accommodate themselues: insomuch as the dis-couraged Genouese recoyle; which the Conte *d'Alanson* per-ceiuing, and comming on with the Horse, in great rage cryes out, *On, on, let vs make way vpon the bellies of these Genouese who do but hinder vs:* and instantly prickes on with a full carrier through the midst of them, attended with the Earles of *Lorrainy, Squoy,* and the Dolphin *de Viennois*, and neuer takes breath till hee came vp to the English Battaile, where the Prince was, which they found better setled: their Horses flanked with troopes of Archers, whose strings hauing not felt the Raine, rained such a shower of Steele vpon them, as cooled their heate and all disordered them. The French King seeing his Brother thus indangered, makes vp to dis-ingeage him, whereupon the Fight grew hot and doubtful, insomuch as the Commanders about the Prince, send to King *Edward* to come vp with his power to ayde them: the King demaunds the Messenger, whether his Sonne were slaine or hurt: the messenger answered no, but hee was like to be ouer layde. Well then sayd the King, returne, and tell them who sent you, *That so long as my Sonne is aliue, they send no more to me what*

ever happen, for I will that the Honor of this day be his. And so being left to try for themselues, they wrought it out with the Sword, and recovered the aduantage, by reason of the *French* King (hauing his Horse slaine vnder him and in danger to be troden to death, had he not beene recovered by the Lord *John Beumont*, his new Pentioner) was in the great discouragement of his people withdrawne out of the field. Whereof notice being once taken by the *English*, the day was soone after theirs, and the greatest Victory they euer had yet against the *French*: and so bloody as there is not mention made of one Prisoner taken in the Battell: for they being once put to route, were all, whom the Sword could ouertake, slaughtered outright. Some few Troopes that held together, saued themselues by retyring to places neere adioyning. The *French* King himselfe with a small company got to *Bray* in the night, and in approaching the Wals, the Guard, asked *Who goes there*, he answered, *The fortune of France*. His voyce being knowne the Gates are opened, and in is he receiued with the teares and lamentations of the People, whom yet he seekes to comfort all he could. The number of the slayne / on the place are certified to be 30. thousand. The chiefe men were *Charles d'Alanson*, *John Duke of Borbone*, *Ralph Earle of Lorraine*, *Louys Earle of Flanders*, *Iaques Dauphine de Viennois*, son to *Imbert* (who after gaue *Dauphin* to the Crowne of *France*) the Earles of *Sancerre*, *Harcourt* (brother to *Geffery*) and many other Earles, Barons, and Gentlemen to the number of 1500. This memorable victory hapned vpon the Saturday after *Bartholomew* day, being the 26. of *August*. 1346.

All the Markes of an intyre ouer-thow rested with King *Edward*: the field of the Battaile, the bodies of the slayne, and their spoyles. The occasion of this great defeit (according to humaine coniecture) the *French* attribute to the choller, rashnesse and precipitation of their King and his brother: and sure temerity and presumption haue euer beene the ruine of great Actions, especially in Warre.

King *Edward* managed this victory with as great moderation as hee wonne it ; and first, hauing imbraced his Sonne, commanding his valour shewed that day, hee renders thankes to God after, as he had inuoked his ayde before at the beginning of the Battayle, and earely in the morning, beeing Sunday, hee sent out 300. Lances, and 2000. Archers to discouer what was become of the enemy : who found great Troupes of such as were comming from *Abbe-ville*, *St. Requier*, *Roan* and *Beauvoys*, (ignorant of what had hapned) led by the Arch-bishop of *Roan* and the Prior of *France*, whom they likewise defeated, and slew 7000. Our Writers report, that of Straglers which were fled from the Battaille, or comming on, hauing lost their way (by reason of a thicke miste which hapned that morning) were slayne many more then in the field the day before, which sheweth vs the wonderfull losse this afflicted Countrey sustayned at one fatal blow.

King *Dauid* ouerthowne and taken prisoner. *Charles de Bloys* taken prisoner.—But this was not all the victories that fell to King *Edward* that yeare : there was another of more importance gotten in *England*, by the Queene and his people at home, against the King of *Scots* ; who being set on by the *French* to diuert the war there, entred vpon the Kingdome with 60. thousand men, (as our Writers report), assuring himselfe of successe, in regard (as he supposed) the mayne strength thereof was now gone into *France*. But he found the contrary : the Lords of the North, as *Gilbert de Humfriuale*, Earle of *Angos*, *Henry Percy*, *Ralph Niuile*, *William Dayncourt* with the Arch-bishop of *Yorke*, the Bishop of *Durham*, and others of the Clergy, gathered so great force, and so well ordered them by the animation of the Queene (who was there in person) as they vtterly defeated this great Army : tooke *Dauid* their King Prisoner, with the Earles of *Fife*, *Menteth*, *Murry*, *Sutherland*, the Lord *Douglas*, the Arch-bishop of Saint *Andrewes* and others, and put to the sword 15. thousand *Scots*. This Victory fell likewise vpon a Saturday, and sixe weekes

after that of *Cressie*. And as if all concurred to make this yeare Tryumphant, the aydes sent to the Countesse of *Monfort* in *Brittan* lead by Sir *Thomas Dagworth*, ouerthrew and tooke Prisoner, *Charles de Bloys*, pretender to that Duchy, and with him *Monsieur la Val*, the Lords *Rochford*, *Beamanoyr*, *Loyacq.*, with many other Barons, Knights and Esquires: There were slayne in the encounter the Lord *De la Val* (Father of him which was taken) *Vicont Rohan*, *Monsieur de Chasteau Brian*, *de Malestroit*, *de Quintin*, *de Direual*, great Lords, besides many other worthy men at Armes, Knights and Esquires, to the number of about 700. Thus all fell before the sword of *England*.

King *Edward* besieges *Calais*.—Now King *Edward*, without meddling with the great Cities, *Amiens* and *Abbe-ville*, which were both neere, marches on directly and sets downe before *Calais*, a Towne of more importance for *England*, and the gate to all the rest: wherein *John de Vienna* Marshall of *France*, and the Lord *d'Andreghen*, a great man in his time, conimanded. All that Winter King *Edward* hauing sheltred his people as in another towne, furnished with all prouisions, lay without any molestation of the *French* King, who this while was likewise besieged with the affliction of his owne State. Misfortune is euer held a great fault, both in mighty men and meane, and opens the mouthes of those whose hearts are peruerse. The people of *France* were in extreame pouerty, yet notwithstanding the necessity of the Kings affaires must constraine fresh supplyes. The ill managing the publike Treasure, the falsehood of the *Financiers*, the decrying of / Monies, the deminishing of traffick, augmentation of impostes, Subsidies, Gabels, &c. were the causes of this publike murmurre, and put the people in dispayre, seeing no end of the troubles wherein their King was daily more and more ingaged. And now was no way to helpe him, but by an assembly of the States. Wherein the *Financiers*, *Receiuers* and *Managers* of monies are called to render an account, and

the Treasure committed to the disposing of the Clergy and Nobles, to take away suspition in the people of ill dealing. Foure Bishops, two Abbots, and foure Knights are chosen for that businesse. *Pierre des Essars* Treasurer of *France*, is committed to Prison, and condemned in a great Fine to the King. Other Officers and accountants restore at once, what they were long in gathering. The *Banquiers*, *Lombards* and other vsurers, are put to the presse for their vnlawfull exactions; and the Interests are prooued to exceede the Principall, which is confiscate to the King, and the Interest given to the Debtors. Courses, wherewith indigent Kings in expensie times vse to serue their turnes, and please their oppressed people. Which I haue the rather noted, though it lye without our circle, to shew that other Kings likewise layd hand vpon what they could fasten, as well as ours haue done, and made benefite of mens offences: onely this of the Vsurer is new to vs, but yet like to that practised heretofore vpon the Iewes, and might serue a turne with as much content to the people, and as faire a shewe of a iust correction as theirs did, the nature of the Extortors being a like.

Ayded with this meanes, and the ready service of his Nobles and ablest subiects, the *French* king, in the Spring, hath an Army in the field, approaches *Callais*, but findes no way open to come to relieu it. The King of *England* was both Master of the Hauen, and possest of all other wayes whatsoeuer were passable, and had the *Flemings* his friends, who with a huge Army had besieged *Ayre*, and did much mischiefe on the confines of *France*. To oppose them, is *John* Duke of *Normandy*, the Prince, sent for out of *Guyen*, who beeing no sooner remooued from thence, but *Henry* of *Lancaster* Earle of *Derby* became master of the field (hauing an Army consisting of twelue hundred men at armes, two thousand Archers, and three thousand other foote English and *Gascoines*) takes in most of the Townes of *Yaintong*, and *Poitou*, in the end besieged and sacked *Poytiers*, and so returns to *Burdeaux*.

with more pillage then his people could well beare. Thus the *French* suffered every where. Their King, not beeing able to approach to grapple with the King of *England*, sends to solicite him to appoyn some place of battayle, and hee would incounter him. King *Edward* returnes answer; *If he would make his owne way to come thither vnto him, there he should finde him: for, from thence he would not part, hauing there layn so long, to his great labour and charge, and beeing now so neere the point of gayning the place.*

Conditions for the rendering of *Callais*. The Queenē obtaynes pardon for the Burgesses of *Calais*. King *Edwards* Clemency.—The two Cardinalls sent from the Pōpe, labouer to mediate a peace, and Commissioners on eyther side meete to treate; but nothing could be effected. So that the French king was forced to breake vp his armie and retyre to *Paris*, leauing *Callais* and the defendants vnrelieued, to the mercy of the Besieger; which when they vnderstood, they sent to desire Parle, had it granted, and therein receyued this finall sentence: that sixe of the chiefe Burgesses should be sent to the king bare-headed, bare-footed, in their shirtes, with halters about their neckes, the keyes of the Towne and Castle in their hands, and submit themselues to the kings will: For the residūe hee was content to take to mercy. This sentence intimated to the miserable Townesmen, they all in lamentable manner looking each on other, who should be chosen for his sacrifice; one amongst the rest stands vp, and boldly spake to this effect. *Fellow Citizens, for mine owne part I that haue so often exposed my life, in this long siege for my Country (and haue beeene every day to dye) am now most willing to sacrifice the same for my last oblation thereunto, and will chearefully carry my head to the Victory of the King of England, not desiring to suruiue the perdition of my miserable Country.* Which free and resolute speech so wrought with this amazed peopple, as now they striue who should bee one of the sixe; and cryed, *Let vs góe, let vs goe vnto Death, it is the last duty wee ought to render to our*

Native soile. Sixe are presently chosen, and sent according to the sentence, presenting themselues on their bare knees to the King, and beseeching him to shewe mercy / vnto them. The King commaunds them instantly to be carried to their execution, and would not (although great supplication was made for them by his Counsell) be diuerted ; in regard as he sayd of his oath : till the Queene, great with Childe, fell on her knees before him, and with teares obtayned their pardon, and had them giuen vnto her ; which done she caused them to be clothed, gaue them their dinner, and sixe nobles a man, appoynting them to be safely conuayed out of the Army, and set at liberty. An Act worthy of so great a Queene, and the greater by this her deede of mercie. The King though in this he were sterne, yet was he more sparing of blood then his Grand-father *Edward* the first, and had more of compassion ; as shewed an Acte in this siege. When Victuals within the Towne beganne to fayle, and all vnvsefull persons, as olde men, women, and children put out of the gates, hee forced them not backe agayne which he might haue done, the sooner to consume their store, but suffered them to passe through his Army, and gaue them to eate, and two pence a peece to euery one.

The conquest of the Towne of *Calais*. King *Edward* returnes into *England*. King *Edward* refuseth the Election of King of the *Romans*.—And thus was that strong Towne of *Callais* the third of *August* 1347. gotten, after almost an yeres siege, with infinite cost and labour. All the Inhabitants are turned out, and sent away to seeke new dwellings ; a Colony of the English planted therein : and so it remained in the possession of the Crowne of *England* 210. yeares after. And now this triumphant King hauing made truce for some few moneths, and taken order for the safe-keeping of his hard gotten prize, returnes with his Queene, the Prince and his people into *England*, to make Holy-day, and enjoy the benefite of their booties brought home out of *France* ; which are sayd to

bee so great as euery house had some part, and the Wiues of *England*, now flourish with the stiffe and ornaments of those of *France*, who in the meane time lament their losses ; and heere is nothing but Feasts and Tryumphes throughout the Kingdome. And to adde to this glory, the Princes Electors send to signifie, that they had chosen King *Edward* King of the *Romans* : which great dignity, notwithstanding hee refused, being it seemed out of his way, or cumbersome to deale withall.

The first great Pestilence.—But before that yeare ended, this great iollity here in *England*, turned to the saddest mourning that could be possible. The inuisible Sword of Heauen makes such a rauage vpon Mankinde, as had not beene knowne before. A contagious Pestilence ariseth in the East and South parts of the World, that dispreads it selfe ouer all Christendome. And in *England* they write that it tooke away more then the halfe of men : As if the Diuine prouidence seeing them thus violently bent to destroy and massacre one another, would lessen their numbers for their fields, and take to it selfe the Vengeance of blood-shed in this terrible manner. Church-yards could not heere suffice to bury the dead ; new grounds are purchased for that purpose. It is noted there dyed in *London*, betweene the first of *January* and the first of *July* 57374. persons. Other Cities and Townes suffered the like, according to their portions. All which calamitie notwithstanding, could not deterre those egar Princes from prosecuting their quarrell, nor yet so vnfurnish their fields, but that they found still fresh hands for blood-shed, as shewed their many conflicts shortly after. But yet it gaue some pause, till the feruour of the contagion asswaged, which was also attended with a miserable famine, murraine of Cattle, and sterility of the earth, caused through the indisposition of the Heauens, and wants of culture.

Anno Reg. 23. King *Edward* goes ouer to *Calais*. The French circumuented in their practise.—The first Action after

this, was the Kings going ouer to *Calais*, vppon an information of a practise to surprise the Towne, contriued by the French, which was thus. *Monsieur de Charmy*, Gouernour of Saint *Omiers*, had dealt with *Americo de Pauia*, whom King *Edward* had left Captaine of the Castle of *Calais*, offring him 20. thousand Crownes to be receiued into the Castle: *Americo* accepts the offer, and appoynts a night for the businesse. In which night (by aduertisements from *Americo*) King *Edward* arriues with 300. men at Armes, and 600. Archers. *Monsieur Charmy* sets out likewise the same night from Saint *Omiers* with his Forces, and sent 100. armed men before with the Crownes to *Americo*, and to possesse the Castle. The men are let in at a Posterne Gate, the Crownes receyued, and themselues layd in hold. VVhich done the / Gates of the Towne are opened, and out marches the King before day, to encounter *Monsieur de Charmy*, comming on with his Forces, who perceyuing himselfe betrayed, put his people to the best defence he could, and the King of *England* to a hard bickering; who, for that he would not be knowne there in person, put himselfe and the Prince under the colours of the Lord *Walter Manny*; and was twice beaten downe on his knees by *Monsieur de Riboumont*, a hardy Knight (with whom hee fought hand to hand) and yet recouered, and in the end tooke *Riboumont* Prisoner. *Charmy* was likewise taken, and all his forces defeated. King *Edward* the night after (which was the first of the new yeare) feasted with the Prisoners, and gaue *Riboumont* in honour of his valour (wherein he honoured his owne) a rich Chaplet of Pearle, which himselfe wore on his head (for a New-yeares-gift) forgaue him his ransome, and set him at lyberty. The rest pay dearely for what they got not; and were well warned how to Trafficke in that kinde. Yet the English not long after in the like practise had better successe, and got the Castle of *Guisnes* (a peece of great importance neere *Calais*) for a summe of money giuen to one *Beauconroy* a *French man*. Of which Castle, when the *French King*

demanded restitution, in regard to the Truce : King *Edward* returnes awnser : *That for things bought and sold betweene their people, therein was no exception*, and so held it.

1305. Anno Reg. 24. The French king dyes.—Shortly after, the French King not borne to liue to see any better Fortune, dyes, leauing that distressed Kingdome to his sonne *John*; who found farre worse. For these fore-noted wounds, were but as scratches to that State, compared with those horrible maimes it indured in his, and after in the Raignes of *Charles* 6. and 7. till the sword of *England* was turned home vpon it selfe, to let out the blood of reuenge with as Tragical mischieves, on the successors of these actors, who now thus wrought others ruines abroad.

King *Edward* in action at Sea against the *Spaniards*.—King *Edward*, the next yeare after, is againe in person with a Fleet on the Sea, to encounter certayne Spanish shippes, passing from *Flanders* loaden with Cloath and other commodities, whom, after a great fight, and much blood shed on eyther side, hee tooke with all their substance : For that the *Spaniards* the yeare before, entered the Riuier *Garonne*, and tooke away certaine English ships, loaden with Wines and slew all the English. His forces in *Guyen* were not idle this while, but many conflicts passed betweene the French and them ; notwithstanding the Truce which was renued. The Wars in *Brittaine* likewise continue, and are hotly maintayned betweene the two Ladies, the widow of *Monfort*, and the wife of *Charles de Blois* (whose husband remaines prisoner in *England*) eager defenders of eythers pretended right.

Alterations of monies. A Parliament. Anno Reg. 27.—Diuerse ouertures of peace had beene made by Legates, sent from the Pope, and Commissioners often met, to the great expence of both Kings, but nothing could bee concluded, (the winner and the loser seldome agreeing vpon conditions, in regard the one will haue more then the other is willing to yeelde vnto) and so temporary Truces (which were but

slenderly obserued) are onely taken to winne time. These actions not onely consumed our men, but the Treasure of the Kingdome. The Warre, though inuasive, could not maintayne it selfe. The monies here are altered, and abated in weight, and yet made to passe according to the former value. Before this time there were none other peeces but Nobles and halfe Nobles, with the small peeces of siluer called sterlings; but now groates of foure-pence, and halfe groates of two-pence, equivalent to the sterling money, are coyned, which inhansed the prices of things, that rise or fall according to the plenty or scarcity of Coyne. Which made seruants and labourers to rayse their wages accordingly. Whereupon a Statute was made in the Parliament, now held at *Westminster*, to reduce the same to the accustomed rate which was giuen before the late great Mortality. This caused much murmuring amongst them, imputing the cause thereof, to *William Edington* Bishop of *Winchester*, the Kings Treasurer, whom they held to be the Author of the abatement of the Coyne.

The Staple established in *England*.—The King conceyuing displeasure against the *Flemings*, for beeing disappointed of the Match betweene a daughter of his, and their yong Earle *Louys* (who was escaped / into *France*, and bestowed on a daughter of the Duke of *Brabant*) with-drawes the Mart of Staple of Woolles from their Townes, greatly inriched thereby, and caused the same to be kept at *Westminster*, *Chichester*, *Canterbury*, *Lincolne*, *Warwick*, *Yorke*, *New-castle*, *Excester*, *Carmarden*, *Bristoll* and *Hull*. Holding it fitter to aduance his owne Townes then Strangers, by the commodities of the Kingdome. And here are prouident Ordinances enacted, for the gouerning and ordering this Staple.

An Acte is also made in this Parliament, that all Weares, Milles, and other Stoppages of Riuers, hindring the passages of Boates, Lighters, and other Vessels should be remooued (*Walsingham*). An Acte most commodious to the Kingdome, but it tooke little effect, sayth my Authour, by reason of bribing

and corrupting Lords, and great men, who regarded more their owne, then the publike benefite: A mischiefe fatall to all good Ordinances; and yet it is an honour to that time, that so behouefull an Act was ordained. For, this easie conueying and passing of Commodities from place to place, to impart the same more generally, would (no doubt) be an infinit benefit to this State: And seeing God hath made vs Riuers proper for the same, it is our negligence, or sloth, if we marre them, or make them not vsefull in that kind, as other Nations do with farre lesser streames.

There is mentioned also (*Stow*) an Act to be made, at the instance of the *Londoners*, that no common Whore should weare any hood; except rayed, or striped with diuers colours, or Furres, but garments reuersed, the wrong side outward: wherein they did well to set a deformed marke vpon foulnesse, to make it appeare the more odious.

The Earle of *Derby* created Duke of *Lancaster*. Treaty of Peace.—After this Parliament, *Henry Earle of Derby*, is created Duke of *Lancaster*, and *Ralph Lord Stafford*, Earle of *Stafford*; and here *Charles de Bloys*, a long prisoner in *England*, agreed for his Ransome, which was forty thousand *Florins*, and was permitted to returne into *Britagne* to prouide the same. Great mediation is made by the Pope to accord the two Kings, and Commissioners meete on both sides, to treate and conclude a Peace. The chiefe Article in deliberation, was; *That the King of England should enioy all the Lands of his Duchy of Aquitaine, without holding the same by resort or Homage of the Crowne of France: and in consideration thereof, should resigne all his Claine and title to the Kingdome*. And this was in a manner then fully agreed on, yet in the end broken off by the French (*Alledging, they could not alienate any thing from the body of that Crowne*) to their farther confusion and mischiefe, hauing bene better to haue spared a formall Ceremony appertaining to a part, then to haue had the whole so miserably rent and torne in peeces as it was. And yet in the end were they

faine to make their agreement vpon the same very Article, at the Treaty of *Britigny*.

Anno Reg. 27.—But now the Commissioners returning without effecting any thing, the King of *England* grew so displeased, as he would not hearken to any further prorogation of Truce, though it were not instantly vrged by two Cardinals, sent from *Auignion* by Pope Clement the 6. (who being a *French-man* borne, labored much for the peace of his Countrey), and preparation is made for fresh wars. The Prince of *Wales* now growne a man, is appointed by Parliament to goe into *Gascoigne* with 1000. men at Armes, 2000. Archers, and a great number of *Welshmen*, and in *June* following, sets foorth with 300. Sayle; attended with the Earles of *Warwicke*, *Suffolke*, *Salisbury*, and *Oxford*, the Lord *Chandos*, the Lord *James Audley*, Sir *Robert Knoles*, Sir *Franke de Hall*, with many others.

King *Edward* passes with an Army into *France*. Returns without doing any thing.—About *Michaelsmas* following, the King himselfe passes ouer to *Calais* with another Army, taking with him two of his sonnes, *Lionell of Antwerpe*, now Earle of *Vlster*, (by the right of his Wife, *Elizabeth Daughter* and heire to *William Brugh*;) And *John of Gant*, Earle of *Richmond*. There met him at *Calais*, of Mercinaries out of *Germany*, *Flanders*, and *Brabant*, a thousand men at Armes. So that the Army consisted of three thousand men at Armes, and two thousand Archers on horse-backe; besides Archers on foote. The City of *London* sent 300. men at Armes, and 500. Archers all in one Liuery, at their owne charges. But all this great power effected nothing at that time, the *French* King would not be drawne to any encounter: both in regard of the potency of his enemy, and some turbulencies happening amongst his owne people, but / he so disfurnishes the country (where the *English* were to passe) of all prouisions to sustaine them, as the King of *England* was forced to returne.

The King of *Nauarre* disturbes the French King.—The

distemperatures of *France* that this time diseased it, grewe from the violent humours of *Charles King of Navarre*, who had married *Iane the French Kings daughter*; a Prince of a stirring Spirit, subtile, haughtie, and presuming vpon his great Estate, and high Blood, being the sonne of *Louys Conte d'Eureux* and *Iane daughter to King Louys Huttin*, which *Iane* was put by the inheritance of the Crowne of *France* by *Phillip de Long her Vnkle*, in regard of the *Salicque Lawe*: and by him preferred to be *Queene of Navarre*, in whose right this *Charles* her sonne, bare both the Title and State of that Kingdome, with many other great inheritances: all which could not yet content him, but holding himselfe wronged that hee had not also the Counties of *Champagne* and *Bray*, which appertained to his Mother by the same right as did the Kingdome of *Navarre*, enters into violent courses. And (daring not to complaine directly to the King) hee falls vpon the Constable of *France*, as chiefe of his Councell, and one of whom hee was iealous, in regard of the Kings particular fauour vnto him, and in the end caused him to be murthered in his bed at *L'Aigle in Normandy*, rushing himselfe vp into his Chamber, accompanied with his brother *Phillip of Navarre*, two of the *Harcourts*, and diuorse other of his owne retinue. After the deede done, hee retires to his owne City of *Eureux*, and iustifies the act to bee lawfull.

The French King committs the King of *Navarre* prisoner.— The French King, though extreamely stung herewith, yet was faine to temporize, and promises the King of *Navarre*, if hee would come and craue pardon, hee should haue it. Whereupon hee appeares at *Paris* before the Councell, to render reason for his act, is condemned, as guilty of treason (notwithstanding the Kings promise) and committed prisoner. Three Queenes are earnest sutors for him, his Mother (the olde Queene of *Navarre*) his Sister (the Widdow of the late King *Phillip de Valois*) and his owne Wife daughter to the French King. His release is obtained, and away hee goes

with the rancour of his wound (which had beeene better not giuen, vnlesse it had beene home) offers his seruice to the King of *England* (who knewe well how to make vse of such a powerfull member) and withall surprises certaine peeces in *Normandie*, practising all he could to withdrawe the peoples affections, and aydes from their King, when he had most need of them. These insolencies, notwithstanding, the *French* King is faine to indure and dissemble, vntill hee might againe take him vpon some aduantage : to vse force, he saw was dangerous, both in regard of his party and the time. An occasion at length fell out, whereon he seizes. *Charles* his eldest sonne beeing lately inuested in the Duchy of *Normandy*, is visited by all the great men in the Countrey, amongst whom as chiefe comes the King of *Nauarre*, and is royally feasted at *Roan*. Whereof the *French* King hauing notice, sets out of *Paris*, suddenly takes him at dinner with his sonne, and without farther processe causes foure of the principall which massacred the Constable to be presently executed ; of which, two were the *Harecourts* brethren : and withall sends away *Nauarre* vnder sure guard to *Arras*, and his chiefest seruants to diuerse prisons.

The Duke of *Lancaster* sent into *Normandy* to aide the king of *Nauarres* brother and others. 1335. *Anno Reg. 29.*— This sudden execution, though it gaue a present amazement, yet it wakened the Partisans of *Nauarre*, and especially *Phillip* his brother, who with *Geffrey Harecourt* (Vnkle to the two brethren) past ouer into *England*, exclaiming against this violent murther, inuoking King *Edward*, in a case of so notorious iniustice, to ayde them : offering their hearts, their goods, their Townes and Hauens, to let him into *Normandy*. The occasion is entertayned, the Duke of *Lancaster* is sent ouer with foure thousand men at Armes, and by the assistance of this great party, winnes many strong Townes.

Fifty shillings granted by Parliament of euery sacke of wooll, for sixe yeares. *Edward Baliol* resignes the Kingdome of

Scotland vnto King *Edward*, reseruing to himselfe a pension.—King *Edward* to be furnished for so great actions, hath by Parliament graunted vnto him fifty Shillings vppon euery Sacke of Wooll, for sixe yeeres next ensuing: by which imposition it was thought (say our Historians) the King might dispend a thousand Markes sterlinc, a day, such vent of Woolls were there in that time. And presently after the Parliament, in Winter (to shew that he was of all weathers) he goes / with an Army to recouer *Barwicke*, which had been surprised by the *Scots*, whilst he was last at *Calais*; and here hath he not onely his Towne, but the whole Kingdome of *Scotland* resigned vnto him, by *Edward Baliol*, who held himselfe King thereof by the best title, but not best regarded: for King *Alexander* (though now Prisoner in *England*) had the most powerful party there; and so both were Kings to their seuerall sides that held them so: a miserable distraction to that poore Kingdome. And euery where dwelt affliction but in *England*, and here was nothing but Triumphs, Vanquishings, and Recouerings in all parts.

The Prince enters *Guien*, passes ouer *Languedoc* to *Tholouse*, *Narbonne*, *Burges*, without any encounter in the field; sackes, spoyles, destroyes where he goes, and loaden with bootie returnes to *Burdeaux*.

1336. Anno Reg. 30. The French king hath the Prince of *Wales* at an aduantage.—The French King thus assaulted on all sides, gathers what power he possibly could, and first makes against his enemies in *Normandy*, recouers many of his lost Townes; and was likely to haue there preuailed, but that he was drawne of force to oppose this fresh Inuador, the Prince of *Wales*, who was againe abroad, and come vp into *Toureyn*; against whom he brings his whole Army, causing all the Townes and passages vpon the Riuier *Loyr* to be strongly guarded: Whereupon the Prince whose forces were not to encounter those so mighty, was aduised to withdraw againe through *Toureyn* and *Poyctou*, towards *Burdeaux*. The French

King to preuent his course followes, and within two Leagues of *Poytiers* hath him at a great aduantage. Two Cardinals at that instant came from the Pope to mediate a peace. The French King supposing he had his Enemie now in his mercy, would accept of none other conditions, but that the Prince should deliuier him foure Hostages, and as vanquished, render himselfe and his Army to his discretion.

The battaile of *Poytiers*, fought the 19. of September 1336.—The Prince was content to restore vnto him what he had gained vpon him, but without preiudice of his Honour, wherein he sayd: *He stood accomptable to his Father, and to his Countrey.* So the Legates perswasions (though earnestly vrged) could preuaile nothing vpon the French Kings obstinacy: who presuming of victory (in regard his Army was sixe to one) would instantly (as loath to loose time to loose himselfe) set upon the Prince: who reduced to this Straight, takes what aduantage he could of the ground, and prouidently got the benefit of the Vines, Shrubs and Bushes, on that part he was like to be assailed, to impester and intangle the French horse, which he saw were to come furiously vpon him. The successe answered his expectation, for behold the Cauallarie of his enemies vpon their first assault, wrapt and incombred amongst the Vines, so that his Archers without danger, gall and annoy them at their pleasure.

For the French King to giue the honour of the day to his Cauallarie (whereof he had caused a choice to be elected out of euery Company, to the discontent of the rest) employed them onely without his *Infantry*: So that they being disordered, and put to rout, his whole Army came to be vtterly defeated.

The French king taken prisoner.—The errours committed in the battaile of *Cressie*, could not warne the King to auoide the like. For had he had the patience to haue tymed it out awhile, the Prince could not haue possibly subsisted, being thus inuironed, and shut vp from all succours as he was: and now thus furiously assaulted, and hauing no safety but

what was to be wrought by the Sword (which desperation euer makes the sharper), hee and his shewed that admirable courage that day, as purchased them the most memorable glory that euer any Martiall action did, that was atchieued by the *English* with so few hands.

The number of prisoners taken.—Here was now the head of that great Kingdome claymed, taken Prisoner, with his youngest sonne *Phillip* (who valiantly defending his Father, when his other brothers forsooke him, had afterward the Title of *Hardie*, and became Duke of *Burgogne*) *Iaques de Borbon*, *Conte de Ponthieu*, the Arch-bishop of *Sens*, *John d'Artoys*, *Conte d'Eu*, *Charles d'Artoys* his brother, *Conte de Longueville*, *Charles Conte de Tancarville*, the *Conts of Vendosme*, *Salbourg*, *Dampmartin*, and *La Roche*, with many other Lords of Markes besides 2000. Knights, Esquires, and Gentlemen; in so much as the Conquerours, holding it not safe to retaine so many, let many of them goe. /

The slaine in the battell.—The *French*, who can giue best account of their owne losses, report there dyed in the Battaile a thousand and seauen hundred Gentlemen, amongst which were fiftie and two Bannerets: the most eminent, *Peter de Barbon*, the Duke *d'Athens*, Constable of *Fraunce*, *Ian de Clermont Marshall*, *Geffrey de Charmy* High Chamberlaine. There escaped from this Battaile three of the *French* Kings Sonnes (for hee brought them all thither), *Charles Prince Dauphin* (and the first so intitled) *Louys* after Duke of *Aniou*, *John Duke of Berry*, all great Actours in the time following.

This blow might seeme to haue beene enough to haue vtterly ouerthrowne that Kingdome, and absolutely subdued it to the Crowne of *England*, but that it was a body which consisted of so many strong limbs, had such store of spirits dispersed in seuerall parts, and contained so wide an extent of State, as all this blood letting could not dissolute it, or make it faint to giue ouer. And sure these powerfull Kingdomes, howsoever they may be diseased, and suffer, either through

the distemperature of their heads, or distractions of their other parts, can neuer (vnlesse by a generall dissolution) be so low brought, but they will recouer againe in the end: their frame holds by many nayles, which neuer faile all together.

A memorable act of *James Lord Audley*.—The Prince of *Wales* in this Battaille, hath a double Victorie, the one by the Sword, the other by his Curtesie: first he visites the Captiue King, with all reuerence and regard of Maiestie, comforts him by the examples of the fortunes of Warre, and assures him of all faire entertainement according to his dignity. The especiall great men who were Actors in this worke must not passe vnremembred, the Earles, *Warwicke, Suffolke, Salisbury, Oxford, Stafford*: the Lords, *Cobham, Spencer, Barkley, Basset: of Gascoignes, Le Capital de Beuf*, the Lords *Pumier, Chaumont*, and others. And here the Lord *James Audley* is renowned both for his valour and bounty, who hauing vowed to be formost in this fight, performed his word, and sealed it with many wounds: for which the Prince hauing rewarded him with the gift of fие hundred markes, Fee-simple in *England*, hee presently gaue it to foure of his Esquires, who had with him indured the brunt of the day. Whereupon the Prince demanding, whether he accepted not his gift, he answered how these men had deserued the same as well as himselfe, and had more need thereof. The Prince pleased with this reply, gaue him fие hundredth Markes more in the same kind. An example of the worthinesse of the time, wherein good deseruings went not vnrewarded.

1337. *Anno Reg. 31.*—All things prouidently accomodated after the battaille, the Prince with his prisoners first retires to *Burdeaux*, and then passes with great glory into *England*, now the Theatre of Tryumph. The *French* King is lodged at the *Sauoy*, then a goodly Pallace of *Henry Duke of Lancaster*. Many prisoners vpon reasonable ransome, and many vpon the *French* Kings word (vndertaking for them) are deliuered and sent home honourably. *David King of Scots*, who had remained

prisoner eleuen yeares in *England*, is shortly after, by the earnest solicitation of *Ioan* his Wife, sister to King *Edward*, set likewise at liberty for the ransome of a hundred thousand Markes stirulin, to be payd at ten yeeres. The security now had of *France*, gaue way to this Princes libertie.

The state of *France* during their kings captivity.—Aboue foure yeares the *French* King remained prisoner in *England*, in which time were many ouertures, and great offers made for his deliuery, but nothing effected. *Charles* the Dauphin, who managed that Kingdome (during the captiuitie of his father), a Prince of great discretion, wrought all meanes possible to bring that factious people to yelde their contribution, for ransoming their King, but little preuailed. The Parliament called to consult thereof, rather augments the misery of the State, then prouides remedy. Wherein after the Dauphin had grauelly deliuered the desolation and danger they were in, being thus deprived of their Head, and the necessitie of recouering and relieuing the same, by their vtmost meanes : There was a choyce required of fiftie (to auoyde confusion) to bee made out of all the Prouinces, to consult of what was propounded, according to the instructions they should receiue. These fifty, after many meetings, sends for the Dauphin to heare their resolution, / which was much otherwise then he expected. For in stead of ayde and subuention, they require reformation in the State. And first, the Bishop of *Laon*, chosen their Speaker, besought him to keepe secret what should bee vttered vnto him by the States. The young Prince answers : *That it were much prejudicall to the degree hee held in the Kingdome, to take the Law of his Fathers Subiects :* And therefore commanded them (by their Allegiance) openly to reueale what they had in their hearts. The Bishop thereupon, declares the euil managing of the Publike Reuenues, demaunds redresse, and Commissioners appointed to call such as were answerable, to yelde their Accounts, *That all who had managed the Treasury, should be deposed from their Office ; that both the moneys,*

and all the affaires of the State, should from thenceforth be directed by foure Bishops, and twelue Burgesses, whereof the City of Paris should be chiefe: and that without this Councell the Dauphin should do nothing: And in conclusion, they instantly require; That the King of Nauarre might be set at liberty. On which conditions they would yeeld any reasonable subuention for redeeming their King.

To these harsh Demands, the *Dauphin* requires time to answer, which he so puts off from day to day (in hope thereby to separate and dis-vnite their Councils) as the Deputies, at length, tyred with delay grew cold, and the Assembly brake vp without doing any thing.

The King of *Nauarre* set at liberty.—But this left such a poyson as infected the people, and specially those of *Paris*, who shortly after presumptuously demaund to haue the King of *Nauarre* deliuered, according to the decree of the Deputies; and without delay they so wrought with *Pinguigny*, the Gouernour of *Artoys* (who had the keeping of this Fire-brand, as he was deliuered after 19. moneths imprisonment, and comes to *Paris* so accompanied, as shewed both of what spirit and state he was, and that he meant to take his time of reuenge. Here is he welcom'd with the applause of the whole City, to whom in publike manner with great eloquence, he declares the wrongs he had receiued; and besides intimates, what right he had to the Crowne of *France*, thereby to imbroyle the affaires of that State, which were already too much in combustion. This put the businesse of redeeming the captiue King quite out of their mindes for that time: and the *Dauphin* is constrained (by an Acte of Abolition) to acquit the King of *Nauarre* and his Complices, of all former offences. And seeing the peruersenesse of the *Parisians*, goes to solicite other Cities, and Prouinces: trauailing from place to place for aide and succour, leauing his brother *Phillip*, Duke of *Orleance*, at *Paris*, to keepe them in (the best he could) during his absence.

The Prouince of *Languedoc*, is renowned in their Histories,

for being the first that made the largest offer of aide towards the redemption of their King, in the Assembly of the three States at *Tholouse*; wherein they promised to their Gouernour, the Conte *d'Arminiacq.* not onely to employ their Reuenue, but their mooueables, and euen to sell their Wiues Iewels to raise the same. Besides, to witnesse their publicke sorrowe, they ordaine, that no costly Apparrell, Feasting, Playes, or other iollyties, should be vsed within their Prouince, during the time of their Kings captiuicie. *Champagne* by their example doth the like. But nothing could mooue the *Parisians* to yeelde any thing. The King of *Nauarre* had wonne them, both from their obedience, and all humanitie, and put them into such flames of Rebellion, as when the *Dauphin* came backe to the Citie, the Prouost of Merchants assaulted his house with three thousand Artificers in Armes, and rushed himselfe vp into his Chamber with certaine of his trayne: wherewith the *Dauphin* beeing amazed, the Prouost bids him be content, it was resolued it must bee so. And presently vpon Signall giuen, *Ian de Coustans*, and *Robert de Cleremont*, Marshall of *Fraunce*, and his chiefe Counsellors, are slaine in his presence. The *Dauphin* cryes out; *What meane you? Will you set vpon the Blood of France?* Sir (sayd the Prouost) *Feare you not, It is not you we seeke, it is your disloyall seruants, Who haue euill counsailed you.* And heere withall hee takes (and puts on) the *Dauphins* hat, edged with Gold, and sets his owne, which was party-coloured, Red and Peach-colour (as the Liuery of the City) vpon the *Dauphins* head, and out he goes adorned with the Hat of a Prince, as a signe of *Dictator-ship*, causing the bodies of / these two Noble men to be trayled along the streetes to the Court of the Pallace, for all the furious multitude which ran to applaude the murther, to gaze on.

This done, the Prouost writes in the name of the whole Citie, to all the great Townes, soliciting them to ioyne with theirs (the principall of the Kingdome) and take their Liuery, as the *Dauphin* had done, for the reformation of the Estate.

Besides, they compose a Councell of themselues, whereof the Bishop of *Laon*, the Primier President, the Prouost, with some of the Vniuersite, were chiefe, assuming a Soueraigne power to order all affaires of the State, as a Common-wealthe. So that wee see in what a miserable confusion that Kingdome stood, beeing without a head, and how apt it was then to shake off all Authoritie, and dissolute the Gouernment into parts: shewing vs that it was no new project amongst them to Cantonize, as the great Townes and the Princes of late practised to do, in their leagues during their Ciuell combustions.

The Dauphin thus disgraced, with much adoe, gets out of this tumultuous Citie, and retires into *Champagne*, and at *Vertus* assembles the States of the Countrey, whom he found Loyall, and ready to yelde him all succour. The rest of the great Townes refusing (with much disdaine) to ioyne with the Citie of *Paris*, offer him likewise their ayde: So that he was put into some heart, and likely to effect his desires in short time, had not the King of *Nauarre*, who sought his destruction, still raised new broyles in the State, and taken Armes against him.

France spoiled by the souldiers and others on all sides.— Now besides these confusions, greater mischieves arose in that miserable Kingdome: the poore Peasants that had been eaten out by the souldiers, and troden vnder foote by their Lords, colleague and arme themselues in the Countrey of *Beauvoysis*, and turne head vpon the Gentry, and such as had done them wrong, spoyling, sacking, burning their houses, killing their Wiues and Children in most outragious manner. This was not all, troopes of souldiers which had no worke or meanes to liue, ioyne together in mighty Companies, ouer-runne and rauage other parts of the Kingdome. The forces in *Brittanie* vnder the conduct of Sir *Robert Knoles*, breake out vpon the confining Countries, and returne loaden with inestimable booties of wealth.

King *Edward* goes to take possession of the kingdome of *France*. *Anno Reg. 34.* — All which miserable calamities (enough to haue vtterly dissolved a state) prolong the imprisonment of their King in *England*; so that nothing could be effected for his ransome, which King *Edward* thinkes long till he haue in his Treasury: and vrges likewise for his part, very hard conditions; requiring, say they, besides infinite summes, that King *John* should do Homage, and hold the Kingdom of *France* of the Crowne of *England*: which he with great disdaine refuses, as being not in his power to alien what was vnalienable, vowing that no misery of his should constraine him to do any thing preiudicall to his successors, to whom he would leauue the State as he receiued it. But yet at length offers other, and more large conditions then the *French* were willing to yeeld vnto, which being long in debating, and nothing concluded (after foure yeeres expectation) King *Edward* in great displeasure, resolues to make an end of this worke with the Sword, and to take possession of the Kingdome of *France*. And ouer he passes to *Calais*, with a fleet of eleuen hundred sayle. His Army he deuides into three battailes, one he commits to the Prince of *Wales*, another to the Duke of *Lancaster*, and the third he leades himselfe. And first he marches to the City of *Aras*, which he takes within three dayes. Thence into *Champagne*, where the Cities of *Sens*, and *Neuers*, are rendered vnto him. The Duchy of *Burgoyne* terrified with these examples, redeemes it selfe from spoyle, vpon paying two hundred thousand Florins of Gold. Furnished with which treasure, and booties by the way, vp King *Edward* marches to *Paris*, where the Dauphin (who had now the Title of Regent, hauing lately ouercome the faction, and executed the principall of the Mutiners) was with great forces (which in the common daunger flocked together to defend their Countrey) and would not (by the example of his Father and Grandfather) be drawne out to hazard vpon any attempt, but stood onely vpon his defences: which the King

of *England* seeing, after many prouocations, raysed his siege, and returnes into *Brittanie* to refresh his Army. /

In the meane time the Regent layes in mightie store of Victuals, prouides that the Souldiers should haue enough without pressing the Inhabitants, and with extreame diligence so fortifies the City, as King *Edward* returning with all his refreshed power, was vtterly disappointed of his hopes, to doe any good there. Thus that great Cittie which was like to haue endangered the whole Kingdome of *France*, was the onely meanes to preserue it.

The Treaty of Accord concluded at *Britigny*.—From hence King *Edward* takes his way towards *Chartres*, with purpose to besiege that Citie, but being by an horrible tempest of haile, thunder and lightning, that fell vpon his Armie, so terrified as he vowed to make peace with the *French* King, vpon any reasonable conditions, as he shortly after did, at the Treatie of *Britigny* neere *Chartres*, vpon these Articles. That the Country of *Poictou*, the *Feifes* of *Thouars*, and *Belleville*, the Country of *Gascoigne*, *Agenois*, *Perigort*, *Limosin*, *Cahors*, *Thorbe*, *Bigorre*, *Rouergne*, *Angoulmois* in Soueraignty, with the Homages of the Lords within those Territories, *Monstruel* on the Sea, *Ponthieu*, *Calais*, *Guines*, *La Merk*, *Sangote*, *Boulogne*, *Hames*, *Vales* and *Onis* should be the King of *Englands*: who besides was to haue three Millions of Scutes of Gold: whereof sixe hundred thousand presently in hand, foure hundred thousand the yeare following, and the Surplus in two yeares after insuing, vpon reasonable payment.

And for this, the King of *England*, and his Sonne the Prince of *Wales*, as well for them as their Successours for euer, should renounce all their right pretended to the Crowne of *France*, the Duchy of *Normandy*, the Countries of *Touraine*, *Aniou*, *Maine*, the Soueraigntie and Homage of the Dutchy of *Britaigne*, and the Earledome of *Flanders*; and within three weekes King *John* to be rendred at *Callais*, at the charge of the King of *England*, except the expences of his house.

For assurance of which accord should be giuen into his hand Hostages: *Louys Duke of Aniou, Iohn Duke of Berry (King Johns sons), Phillip Duke of Orleance his brother, John Duke of Burgogne, the Conts of Bloys, Alenson, S. Pol, Harcourt, Poncian, Valentinois, Grand Pre, de Brenne des Forrests, the Lords Vaudemont, Couscy, Piennez, de S. Venant, de Preaux, de Momerancy de Garanciecis, La Roche guion, Estou-teuille, Le Dauphin d'Auergne, d'Andrigil, de Craon*, sufficient cautions for the said Summes, and conditions. The *Scots* not to be aided by the *French King*, nor the *Flemmings* by the *English*. *Charles King of Nauarre*, and his brother *Phillip* are comprehended likewise in these Articles, &c.

King *John* deliuered.—This Treaty of good accord and finall Peace signified by both Kings, was ratified by their two eldest Sonnes; *Edward* and *Charles*: and sworne vnto by the Nobility of both Kingdoms. The Hostages are deliuered vnto King *Edward*, who departing from *Honsleur*, brought them into *England*, leauing the Earle of *Warwicke* in *France*, to haue a hand in the execution of the Accord. King *John* is honourably conducted to *Callais*, attending the promised Summe, the first gage for his liberty. The City of *Paris* yeelds one thousand Royals; by whose example other Cities contribute according to their proportions. And thus is King *John* deliuered, after hauing remained Prisoner in *England* neere about fife yeeres. And both Kings depart in kind manner, with all demonstrations of brotherly Loue.

1361. *Anno Reg. 35.*—King *Edward* returning with his Crownes, cals a Parliament, wherein, the forme of the Accord was read, and allowed of all the Estates, and an Oath taken by the Nobles to obserue the same for their parts. Here the King restores to the Priors *Alians*, their Houses, Lands, Tenements, which he had taken from them *Anno Reg. 12.* for the maintenance of his *French Warres*: Which now being ended, he grants by his Letters-Patents, in a Fee-manner, as before they held them. A rare Example of a iust King, being

seldome seene that Princes let go any thing, whereon they haue once fastned.

The second great Pestilence. *Anno Reg. 36.*—Now againe, was the ioy and glory that *England* receiued by their gettings, seasoned with the sowernesse of another mortalitie, called *The second Pestilence*, whereof dyed many Noblemen: the chiefe was *Henry Duke of Lancaster*, of the Royall Blood, a Prince of great note for wisedome and valour: who had beene an especiall Actor in all these Warres, and a principall Pillar of the Crowne of *England*: whose / Daughter and Heyre was a little before married to *John of Gaunt* (by dispensation being neere of consanguinitie) whereby he is made Duke of *Lancaster*. And shortly after, by the like Dispensation, the Prince of *Wales* marries the Countesse of *Kent*, Daughter to *Edmond*, brother to *Edward* the second. And so both are prouided of Matches within the Kingdome. The King giues to the Prince of *Wales*, the Duchy of *Aquitayne*, reseruing to himselfe Homage and Fealtie, and shortly after sends him ouer with his Wife, and Court to liue there. His sonne *Lionell Earle Ulster* is sent into *Ireland*, with a Regiment of 1500. men to guard his Earledome against the *Irish*, and was created Duke of *Clarence* in the next Parliament held at *Westminster* in *Nouember*, which continued vntill the Feast of Saint *Brice*; King *Edwards* Birth-day, and the fiftieth yeare of his age. Wherein for a *Iubilie* he shewes himselfe extraordinarily gracious to his People, freely pardoning many offences, releasing prisoners, reuoking Exiles, &c. And vpon petition of the Commons, causes *Pleas* which before were in *French*, to be made in *English*, that the subiect might vnderstand the Law, *By which he holds what he hath, and is knowne what he doth*: A blessed Act and worthy so great a King, who if he could thereby haue rendered the same also perspicuous, it had bene a worke of eternall honour, but such is the Fate of Law, that in what language soeuer it speakes, it neuer speakes playne, but is wrapt vp in such difficulties and mysteries (as all

professions of profit are) as it giues more affliction to the People then it doth reameydy. Here was also an Acte passed for Purueiors (as there had beene many before in his time) that nothing should be taken vp but for ready money, vpon strict punishment. (*Vide Stat.*) For retribution of which relieuemts the Parliament graunted sixe and twenty shillings eight pence for transportation of euery sacke of Wooll for three yeares. Thus all were pleased, sauing, the remouuing of the Staple, from the Townes of *England* to *Calais*, was some grieuance to those whom it concerned. Yet the Kings desire to inrich that Towne, being of his owne acquisition, and now a member of the Crowne of *England*, might heerein be well borne withall. And sure the King, the most renowmed for valour and *Goodnesse*, that euer raigned in this Kingdome, not onely laboured to aduance the State by enlarging the Dominions thereof, but to make his people as well good as great, by reforming their vices (whereunto fortunate and opulent States are euermore subiect) as may bee noted in the next Parliament held at *Westminster*, Anno Reg. 37. Wherein for the publicke Good, certaine Sumptuarie Lawes, the most necessarie to preuent Ryot (that dissoluing sicknesse, the Feuer Hecteque of a State) were ordained both for Apparrell and Dyet; appointing euery degree of men from the Shepheard to the Prince, the Stiffe and Habits they should weare: prohibiting the adornements of Gold and Siluer, Silkes, and rich Furres to all, except eminent persons. (*Vide Stat.*) Whereby foraine superfluities were shut out, and home-made Commodities onely vsed. The Labourer and Husbandman is appointed but one meale a day, and what meates he should eate, &c. Whereby *Gluttony* and *Drunkennesse*, those hideous euils, which haue since vtterly disfashioned and infeebled the *English* Nation, were auoided. So carefull was this frugall King for preseruing the estates of his Subiects from Excesse.

Clergie-men Officers to the King.—And as prouident was hee for the ordering of his owne, committing his Treasure to

the safest Chest that Religion could keepe lockt. For by a Certificat *Anno Reg. 39.* sent to Pope *Vrbane*, concerning Pluralities, and the estates of Church-men in *England*, there were found more of the Spiritualtie which bare Office about this King, then any other of Christendome beside. As first *Simon Langham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was Chancelor of *England*, *William Wickham* Archdeacon of *Lincolne*, Keeper of the Priuie Seale: *Dauid Weller* Parson of *Somersham*, Maister of the Rolles: Ten beneficed Priests Ciuilians, Maisters of Chancery: *William Mulse* Deane of Saint *Martins le Grand*, Chiefe Chamberlaine of the Exchequer, Receiuer and Keeper of the Kings Treasure and Iewels: *William Askby* Archdeacon of *Northampton*, Chancelor of the Exchequer: *William Dighton* Prebendarie of Saint *Martins*, Clerke of the Priuy Seale: *Richard Chesterfield* Prebend of Saint *Stephans*, Treasurer of the Kings House: *Henry Snatch* Parson of *Oundall*, Maister of the Kings Warde-robe: *John Newnham*, / Parson of *Finni-stanton*, one of the Chamberlaines of the Exchequer, and keeper of the Kings Treasurie and Iewels: *John Rousbie*, Parson of *Harwicke*, Surueior and Comptroler of the Kings workes: *Thomas Britingham* Parson of *Asbie*, Treasurer to the King for the parts of *Guisnes*, and the Marches of *Calais*: *John Troys* Treasurer of *Ireland* a Priest, and beneficed there. These men, being without those Feminine Ginnes of attraction and consumption, deuoted onely to Sanctity, were thought then fittest to be husbands for his profit.

The death of King *John of France*.—Shortly after, three Kings came to visite the King of *England*: the King of *France*, the King of *Scots*, and the King of *Cypres*. The occasions that mooued the *French* King might be diuerse, but it seemes the speciall were to free some Hostages that remained here, and to cleere such imputations as were had of him, for not obseruing in all points the late Accord: wherewith his Nobles were much discontented, and many difficulties arose among them: so that in an Assembly of the States at *Paris*, certaine particular Lords,

whose Homages were passed ouer to the King of *England*, protested against it; *Alledging, how that the King could not dispose of the Soueraigntie of the Kingdome, nor alien his Domaine, and therefore they would not obey it.* The French King notwithstanding, least King *Edward* should thinke this but a collusion betweene him and his subiects, publishes his Commaundement for the obseruation of the Accord, and thereof certifies King *Edward*. Besides, he had vndertaken a iourney for the *Holy Warres*, and desired to settle all things in peace at home, before his going. And this might be the occasion of his comming, and not his loue to the Countesse of *Salisbury*, as is reported. But howsoeuer, this King shewed a strange disposition to returne to the Gaole, where he had indured so much affliction, and where shortly after his comming he ended his life, much lamented of the King of *England*, who solemnly attended his Corps to *Douer*, whence it was conueyed to Saint *Denys*, and entombed with his Ancestors.

1364. *Anno Reg. 38.* The businesse of *Brittanie* accommodated for a time.—The debate for the Dutchy of *Britaigne*, is about this time determined by the death of *Charles de Bloys*, slayne in a Battaile neere *Vannes*, by *John de Monfort*, and the *English Forces*, led by the Lord *Latimer*, Sir *John Chandos*, and Sir *Hugh Cauerley*. *John de Montfort* marries *Mary* daughter to King *Edward*, and by his consent doth his Homage for the Duchie, to *Charles* (now King of *France*), compounding with the widdow of *Charles de Bloys* for a summe of mony, and some estate in land.

And here we haue some time of rest, which the Souldier whom the warre had bred, could not well brooke. The cast Companies in *France*, though they had no head, yet had strong bodies, and did much mischiefe in many parts of that Kingdome, till they were employed in the Warres of *Spaine*, which fell out shortly after. A Company of them passed ouer into *Italy*, vnder the conduct of Sir *John Haucut*,¹ a great Warriour, who

¹ The Italians call him *Iohannes de Acuto*.

found such entertainment with the Princes there (where he reuiued Military discipline, that had layne long vnused among them) and got such honour and estate by his valour, as his fame remaines to this day, and his Statue amongst their memorable Princes for Action and Vertue, though he went but a Taylor out of this Kingdome: which in those dayes could haue furnished the whole world with Leaders, and expert Militarie men.

Anno Reg. 40.—And now heere haue wee brought this Mightie King to the Fortieth yeere of his Raigne, which had it beene his last, wee had left him the most glorious and Tryumphant Prince in the world; to whom Fortune neuer yet shewed her back, neuer was retrograde. But now these last ten yeaeres present vs with a turning of the Beame, a declination from that height of glory, with certaine blemishes that age and frailtie brought vpon him. The new King of *France*, *Charles* the fifth, Intituled *The wise*, recouered great aduantages vpon him, hauing in the life-time of his Father strugled so with affliction (a better Mistresse of Wisedome then prosperitie) and learned so well to knowe a Crowne before he had it, as now hee manages the same with great temperance and vigilancie: and finding the preseruation of that State consisted more in Councell then force (which had beene too aduenturously employed by his Father and Grand-father) he workes his fortune by lying still, hauing excellent aides and / ministers to execute his designes, and labour for him: of whom for his Warres, *Guesclin* a *Brittaine* whom he made Constable of *France*, was of especiall note, and first shewed the way how that State was to be recouered.

1367. Anno Reg. 41. The Prince of *Wales* aides the King of *Castile*.—The Prince of *Wales* remaining in his Duchy of *Aquitaine*, with a great Court, which required great expences, and many Military attendants, without worke, is solicited by *Peter King of Castile*, chased out of his Kingdome by his bastard brother *Henry*, to ayde him to recouer the same:

which the Prince vpon great promises of remuneration vndertakes by the consent of his Father. The cause was better then the person. For this *Peter* sonne to *Alphonso* the eleventh King of *Castile*, had committed so tyrannicall outrages, as were intollerable to his Subiects, oppressing and destroying his Nobles to enrich himselfe, putting away, and after murthering his Wife (which was the daughter to *Peter* Duke of *Burbon*, and Sister to the now Queene of *France*) by the instigation of his Concubine *Maria de Padilla*, whom he afterwards married. Whereupon the State adhering to his Brother *Henry* (who though he were a Bastard by his birth was more Legitimate by his vertues then he, who was more a bastard by his vices) Crowned him King of *Spaine* at *Burgos*, and forced *Peter* to flye the Kingdome. This *Peter* thus reiected, the Prince of *Wales*, with an Army of thirtie thousand, attended by his brother *John* Duke of *Lancaster*, and many Lords of *England*, goes to re-inuest in his Kingdome. *Henry* is ayded by the *French*, and those floting Companies fore-membred led by *Guesclin* Constable, and *Dandrehen* Marshall of *Fraunce*; hauing besides the Castilians, Christians, and Sarasins so many, as his Army consisted of neere an hundredth thousand men.

The Prince obtaines the victory in *Spaine*.—Vpon the borders of *Castile* it came to a Battaile; the Prince of *Wales* hath the Victory: *Henry* is put to flight, the *French* Leaders taken prisoners, and *Peter* put into his Throne againe at *Burgos*. The worke done, reward for the same is required by the Prince, which *Peter* could not, nor cared not to prouide, but staruing him with delayes, inforced him in the end to returne to *Burdeaux*, without money to pay his Army, and which was worse, without health, which he neuer after recouered. This successe had this vnfortunate action, vndertaken to right an vngratefull Tyrant, who afterward notwithstanding, was againe dispossessed, taken and put to death, by his Brother *Henry*. It is written, that to strengthen himselfe, he combined with a

Prince of the *Sarazins*, married his daughter, and renounced the Christian Faith: but it is commonly the reward of euill Princes to be made worse then they are.

The ill successe of that iourny.—The Prince of *Wales* returning thus out of *Spaine*, charged with more debts then before, and destitute of meanes to content his people, fals vpon another misfortune (as commonly men in these declinations, seeking remedies increase Maladies), imposing a new taxation vpon the *Gascoignes*, of Feuage, or Chimney-money, so discontented the people, as they exclame against the Gouernement of the *English*, and appeale to the King and Court of *Fraunce* for redresse. The King of *Fraunce*, at the instance of the great Lords and others, who were turned ouer by the accord to hold of the Crowne of *England*, sends a Gentleman to the Prince of *Wales* at *Burdeaux*, with Sommons to aunswere before him and his Court at *Paris*, to these Complaints.

1369. Anno Reg. 43.—Now had the Lords of *Arminiaque*, *D'Albert*, *Peregot*, *Cominges*, and many others, made their protestations against the King of *England*, for the Crowne of *France*, which, they say, *They were by nature to obey, and not to a strange Soueraigne: that it was absolutely against the Fundamentall Law of the Kingdom, to disseuer them from the Crowne: that the Contract was made in prison, and therefore inciuill, and not to be held by the right of Nations*. So that they were resolued to spend their liues and estates, rather then be vnder the gouernement of *England*. By their example the Cities of the County of *Ponthieu* rendered themselues to *Guy Conte de Saint Poll*, and *Guy de Chastillon*.

The Emperour *Charles 4* makes a iourney into *France* to reconcile the two Kings. The allegations of the *English* Ambassadors before the Emperour.—The King of *England* complaines of this breach of accord to the Pope, and the Emperour *Charles the fourth*, who made a iourney into *France* to reconcile the two kings, and determined the businesse.

Before whom our Ambassadors first declare *how this Accord, / hauing beeene more for the good of France then vs, in regard we resigned thereby, not onely our Title to Normandy, Touraine, and Aniou, the fairest and richest Countries of France ; but also our Title to the Crowne, to the end we might hold in Soueraignty the Duchy of Aquitayne, the County of Ponthieu, with some other peeces, which by Hereditary right appertayned to the Crowne of England, whereby the effusion of Christian blood was staied, France had peace, and their King restored in faire manner, after a faire imprisonment, and vpon the most reasonable Conditions could bee devised : Notwithstanding the French King, (who himselfe, with the whole Council of France contracted the Accord, and solemnly swore to obserue the same) hath contrarie to the Law of God and Nations (after he had recovered his Hostages by fraud) seazed both vpon the Duchy of Aquitayne, and the County of Ponthieu, without denouncing Warre, by his Heralds, &c.*

The reply of the French. Forces sent into France. Anno Reg. 44. The French reply : *How we by the Accord, were bound immediately to with-draw our Army out of France, which they say we did not, during all the Raigne of their King Iohn : That the peace was thereby made more offensiuе then the War, they being constrained to purchase the departure of our Souldiers with greater charge then would haue maintayned an army. That the breach was on our side, for that the Souldiers were ours. That King Edward was bound to renounce his Title to the Crowne of France, in open Assembly of the States of both Realmes, which they say was not done. And concerning the releasing of their King : they say, it cost France more gold, then the redeeming of Saint Louys their King, his brother, the Peeres, and the whole Armie, taken by the Soldan, an Infidell. Thus both sides defend their cause, beeing easie for Princes who will breake out of their Couenants to finde euasions. The French King (it seemes) though willing to get in what he could, yet was very loath to renue a Warre, and therefore with many Presents,*

courts the King of *England*: Who seeing himselfe thus deluded, prepares to haue out his Sword. And hauing borrowed great summes of the Clergy, sends ouer *John Duke of Lancaster*, and *Humphrey Bohun Earle of Hereford*, with a mighty Army to *Calais*, to inuade *France* on this side; whiles the Prince of *Wales* workes to recouer the reuolted Townes on the other. But little was effected. The Duke shortly returns. And then *Thomas Beauchamp Earle of Warwicke*, with fresh supplies is sent ouer, who dyes in the iourney. Sir *Robert Knoles* a man renowned in those times for Valour and Counsell, is made Leader of an Army, consisting of many great Lords, who disdayning to bee commanded by him, whom they held their inferiour, ouerthrew themselues, and the Action.

Anno Reg. 45. A subsidy granted by Parliament, and the manner of seizing the same.—Thus all went backe, and the French King growes both in State and Alliance. *Margaret*, sole Daughter and Heire to *Louys Earle of Flanders*, to whom King *Edward* sought to match his sonne *Edmond*, is wonne to marry *Philip le Hardy Duke of Burgogne*, brother to the French King. And this much vexed King *Edward*, who the better to furnish himselfe for reuenge, calles a Parliament at *Westminster*, wherein hee resumes his clayme to the Crowne of *France*, and requires ayde of his Subiects, and hath it. The Clergy granted him fifty thousand pounds, to bee payde the same yeare; and the Laytie as much. For the leuying whereof, euery Parish in *England* was rated first to pay 23. shillings & foure pence (the great helping the lesse) vpon supposition there had beene Parishes enough to haue made vp that summe. But by certificate vpon the Kings Writs sent out to examine what number of Parish Churches were in euery Shiere, they found it came short: And then rated euery Parish at fife pound sixteene shillings (the greater to helpe the lesse) and so, of 8600. Parishes, found to bee in the 37. Shires, 50. thousand, 181. pound, 8. pence was raised. But in regard of the great pouerty of *Suffolke*, *Deuon-shiere*, the 181. pound

was abated, and the King answered fifty thousand pounds for the Laytie.

The Duke of *Lancaster* sent into *Aquitaine*. The Prince of *Wales* returnes into *England*.—Vpon this supply, the King grants that the great Charter, and the Charter of *Forrests*, should be obserued in all poynts: Which in most Parliaments of his, is euer the first Act; as may bee seene in the Printed Statutes. And now *John Duke of Lancaster*, and *Edmond Earle of Cambridge*, are sent with Forces into *Aquitayne*, to aide the Prince of *Wales*, who after he had sacked the City of *Lymoges*, that was reuolted, his health failing to performe any more, leaues the prosecution of the Warre to / his brother; and with his wife, and yong sonne *Richard* borne at *Burdeaux*, returnes home into *England*, and here resignes vnto his father the Duchy of *Aquitaine*.

The Duke of *Lancaster* marries *Constance* daughter to the King of *Castile*. 1372. Anno Reg. 46.—The Duke of *Lancaster*, after the departure of the Prince, did little, but beeing now a widdower (his wife dying two yeares before, in the third great Pestilence, in which yeare also *Phillippa* wife to King *Edward* ended her life) hee marries *Constance* eldest daughter to *Peter King of Castile*, by whom hee had the empty Title of King, and was (after the death of his Father-in-law) stiled King of *Castile and Leon*. This *Constance*, though shee were the daughter of a wicked father and infamous mother, yet was so happy, that the daughter she had by this Duke of *Lancaster*, named *Katherine*, became after Queene of *Castile and Leon*, (being married to *Henry* third in possession before, and in her right King of both those Realmes) and left her posterity Kings of *Spaine*. *Edmond Earle of Cambridge*, married also at the same time *Isabel* the yongest daughter of King *Peter*, and both shortly after returned into *England*, though without Victory, yet with wiues. *Lionell Duke of Clarence*, a little before, marries *Violenta*, the Duke of *Millaines* daughter in *Italy*, where they feasted him so as shortly after hee dyed.

The Earle of *Pembrook* taken prisoner by the *Spaniard*. 1373. Anno Reg. 47.—The City of *Rochell*, that yet held out for the English, had indured a long siege both by Sea and Land, to relieue which important peece, the Earle of *Pembroke* is sent with forty ships well manned and victualled, and besides furnished with twenty thousand markes to defrey the Voyage, who incountring the Spanish Armado sent to ayde the *French* in this siege (by *Henry* now King of *Castile*) after a long and cruell conflict, is taken Prisoner, and his Nauy vtterly destroyed. King *Edward* himselfe, though now aged, sets forth a mighty Army to recouer these losses, but thereby lost more, the windes with his fortune being against him, beate him backe, hauing spent in this preparation nine hundred thousand markes.

Shortly after, *John Duke of Lancaster*, passes ouer agayne to *Calais* with another Army, which hee leades through *France*, by the way of *Auergne*, where amongst the mountaynes he lost many of his people for want of Victuals, and almost all his horse, so that he came to *Burdeaux* with a starued and distressed Company ; which after some time he relieues and made certayne attempts vpon the enemy, but effected nothing ; the date of Victories was out, all went ill with the English. The Duke returns the next yeare, and all *Gascoines* reuolts except *Burdeaux* and *Bayon*.

Another subsidy granted by Parliament.—King *Edward* hath another supply by Parliament, a Tenth of the Clergy, and a fifteenth of the Laytie, towards these Warres : which now are sought to bee ended by treaty, an vnlikely way to doe any good. Two yeares are spent therein, at *Burges* and other places, with great charge of Commissioners, and much debate. The *French* hauing now the aduantage of the time, would make their owne conditions ; they require the Towne of *Calais* (from whence King *Edward* had now remooued his Staple, in regard of the danger of Merchants goods) and restitution of great summes of money, which were not to be yeelded : So that nothing but temporary Truces were to bee gotten to serue

present shifts, wherein the English and their party had euer the worse.

1376. *Anno Reg. 50.* A Parliament at *Westminster* which was called the good Parliament. The Duke of *Lancaster* with others banished the Court.—And heere at home, besides the sicknesse of the Prince (which grew desperate) the State is diseased, the Kings age is misled, his Treasure exhausted, and his affaires ill managed. A Parliament to cure these euills, is called at *Westminster*, the Kings wants are opened, and supplies required: The whole body of the Assembly, weary to beare these continuall burthens, in stede of Contributions, exhibite complaynts, charging the Kings Officers with fraude, and humbly craue that the Duke of *Lancaster*, the Lord *Latimer*, then Lord *Chamberlaine*, Dame *Alice Pierce*, the kings Concubine, and one Sir *Richard Sturry*, might be amooued from Court. Their Complaynts and desire are so Vehemently vrged by the Speaker, (*Sir Peter la Mare,*) as the King rather then not to be supplyed, gaue way vnto them, and all these persons are presently put from Court. The Prince was held to fauour their proceeding, for there seemes to be no good correspondence betweene him and his brother, the Duke of *Lancaster*, who now managed all vnder his aged Father, and whose ambition / might be dangerous to his young Sonne *Richard*, whom hee was like to leauue to his mercy.

Another *Iubile*. The death of the Prince of *Wales*. The Duke of *Lancaster* returnes with the rest, to the Court. The reuenge and beauiour of *Alice Pierce*.—The King in this Parliament, being the Fiftieth yeare of his raigne, to gratifie his Subiects, grants another generall Pardon, as another *Iubile*; wherein onely *William Wincham*, Bishop of *Winchester* is excepted, beeing lately by the procurement of the Duke of *Lancaster* fallen into the Kings displeasure, and forbidden to come to the Parliament. But this *Iubile* was soone turned to sorrow, by the death of the Prince of *Wales* which happened in this Parliament time. A heauy losse to the State, beeing

a Prince of whom wee neuer heard any ill, neither receiued other note then of goodnesse, and the noblest performances, that Magnanimitie and Wisedome could euer shewe: in so much, as what prayse can bee giuen to Vertue, is due vnto him. His death changed the face of affayres. The late excluded parties returne to Court, and their former places. This Parliament, called *the good Parliament*, now wrought ill effects. S^r. Peter de la Mare, at the suite of Alice Pierce, an impudent woman (working vpon the Kings impotences) is committed to perpetuall imprisonment at *Nottingham*. An acte without example of former times, and did no good in this, especially beeing wrought by such a subject. This woman presuming vpon the Kings fauour, whom she had subdued, grew so insolent (the common euill of such fortunes) that shee entemedled with Courts of Iustice and other Offices, where she herselfe would sit to effect her desires: which, though in all who are so exalted, are euer excessive, yet in a woman most immoderate, as hauing lesse of discretion, and more of greedinesse.

The Duke of *Lancaster* gouernes all. *Richard of Burdeaux* created Prince of *Wales*. The Earle of March resignes his Office of Marshall, which is giuen to Sir *Henry Piercy*.—The Duke of *Lancaster* is come now to haue the Regency, and to manage all the affaires of the Kingdome, and might thereby presume farther. But King *Edward*, to preuent the mischieves, which by disordering the succession might growe in the Kingdome, prudently settled the same in the Parliament, vpon *Richard of Burdeaux*, creating him first Earle of *Chester* and *Cornewall*, and then Prince of *Wales*; which made much for this present safety, least *John of Lancaster* should supplant him, as Earle *John* did his Nephew *Arthur*, in the like case. For (sure it seemes) the Duke had his designe that way bent: but this confirmation by the Parliament (which hee had offended) and shortly after a breach with the Citizens of *London*, put him so by, as he durst not now attempt that

which his Sonne after effected. But yet he behaues himselfe very imperiously in this state he had. And first shewes his authority on the Earle of *March*, commanding him ouer to the guarding of *Calais*, and the parts there about. Which the Earle refuses, and rather yeelds vp his Rodde, with the Office of *Marshall*, then obey his commandement therein. The Duke takes the Rodde, and giues it with the Office to Sir *Henry Piercy*, a man most inward with him.

The Prince motions a Subsidy in diuers kindes.—Shortly after, the Parliament is assembled againe at *Westminster* (whether a new or the last prorogued I know not) and thither, the Duke himselfe brings Prince *Richard* (of the age of 11. yeares) places him in the Kings Seate, and taught him to demaund a Subsidie. Which was two Tenthys, to bee payde in one yeare : Or twelue pence in the pound of al Merchandizes sold, for one yeare ; and one pound of siluer for euery Knights Fee ; and of euery Fire-house one penny. And this Demaund the Duke earnestly vrges, Saying, one of them ought of necessity to be granted, in regard the enemy proclayming warre, purposed to inuade the Realme. (*John Stow.*)

The Parliament diuided.—The Knights of the Parliament (whom the Duke they sayd, had by practise made, and put by all of the last Assembly, except twelue which hee could not alter) require respite to answeare: a day is appoynted. The maior part make choyce of one *Hungerford*, a Creature of the Dukes to deliuier their answeare. The other would haue Sir *Peter de la Mare* to bee enlarged, and deliuier theirs; and also answeare to what could be objected against him, before the Lords in Parliament, and there to submitte himselfe. Then the Duke demaunds ayde of the Bishops. They refuse to treate therein, without their Brother, the Bishop of *Winchester*, prohibited from comining to the Parliament.

A dissention about *John Wicliffe*. His doctrine.—Now there fell out an Accident, that besides gaue interruption to this businesse. A certayne Diuine, named *John Wicliffe*, deprived

by the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* of a benifice / in *Oxford*, which hee was found vniust to holde, had heretofore, beeing discontented (the humour that commonly breeds Scisme) inueighed in his Sermons, and other actes in the Schooles against the abuses of Church-men Monkes and other religious orders (which were not then so free from scandall, but might well bee taxed) and had by this doctrine there, and in *London* wonne many Disciples vnto him (who after were called Lollards) professing pouerty, going bare footed, and poorely cladde in russet, which made them (as extreames are) the more noted, and get passage into the opinion of the people, apt to embrace nouelties, and vsually beguiled by disguises, in regard they rather *Beleeue the Judge*. Amongst other his Doctrines, hee taught that neyther King or other Secular Lord, could giue any thing in *Perpetuitie* vnto Church-men, and that Temporall Lords if they neede, might lawfully take the goods of such religious persons to relieuem them in their necessities, by the example of *William Rufus &c.* A Doctrine very pleasing to great men, who commonly embrace Sects, either for ambition to get, or for iealousie not to lose, or for hatred to reuenge.

The Duke of *Lancaster* fauours *Wicliffe*, and why. The conuention of *Wicliffe* before the Bishops in *Pauls*. The Citizens of *London* take their Bishops part.—This man, the Duke of *Lancaster*, and Sir *Henry Piercy*, much fauour and cherish, extolling him both for his learning and integrity of life, which made him so farre presume, as hee dayly in one Church or other published his opinions without feare: Whereupon at length hee is cited to answere before the Arch-bishop, the Bishop of *London* and others, in *Paules*. At the day appoynted, the Duke of *Lancaster* and the Lord Marshall goe to conduct him: By the way hee is animated by his Followers not to feare the Bishops, and entring into *Paules*, the presse is so great, as hardly any passage could be made; whereupon the Marshall vsing some violence, thrust in vpon the people, which *Courtney*,

Bishop of *London* prohibited him to doe, saying: *If he had knowne he would haue behaued himselfe so in that place, he should not haue come into the Church.* The Duke hearing these words, angerly replyed, *That the Marshall should execute his authority, whether he would or not.* When they were come to our Ladies Chappell, the Duke and Barons, with the Bishops, sitting downe, *John Wicliffe* (sent for in by the Lord Marshall) was by himselfe willed to sit downe, in regard hee saide, the man had much to answere, and needed a conuenient Seat. The Bishop of *London* told him, it was against all law and reason, that he who was there cited before his Ordinary, should sit: Heereupon contumelious words arose betweene the Lord Marshall and the Bishop; the Duke takes the Marshals part, and sharply reprehended the Bishop, the Bishop returnes the like to the Duke, who in great rage, seeing hee could not preuaile, swore *he would pull downe the pride of him, and all the Bishops of England.* *You trust, said he, in your Parents, but they can profit you nothing.* *I trust not in my Parents, said the Bishop, nor in any man liuing, but in God in whom I ought to trust.* The Duke, as if whispering in his eare, told him, *he had rather pull him out of the Church by the haire of the head, then suffer these indignities:* which words the *Londoners* ouer-hearing, swore with a loud voice, *they would rather lose their lives, then suffer their Bishop to be thus iniuriously vsed and threatned to be pulled out of his owne Church.* Their fury was the more incensed against the Duke, for that the day before in the Parliament (whereof he was president) it was required in the Kings name, that from thenceforth there should be no more a Maior of *London*, but a Captaine appoynted for the gouernment of the City, and that the Lord Marshall of *England* should arrest offenders within the Liberties, as in other places.

The Citizens in vprore. The Duke of *Lancaster* in danger flees to the Princesse.—About this businesse, and this wrong offered to their Bishop, the Citizens assembling the morrow

after, to consult among themselues, it happened the Lord *Fitzwater*, and *Guido Brian*, came into the City, which the people seeing, furiously ranne vpon them, and were like to beate them downe for comming vnsent for, at that time. The Lord *Fitzwater* protested hee came to no other end, but to offer his seruice to the City, being by inheritance their Standard-bearer, and was to take iniuries offered to them, as to himselfe, and therefore willed them to looke to their defence. Whereupon they presently take Armes, assayle the Marshalls Inne, breake open the gates, brought foorth a prisoner in his Gyues, and let him at liberty, but found not / the Lord Marshall, who with the Duke that day were to dine with one *John de Ypres*. Then this furious multitude run to assayle the *Sauoy*, which a Knight of the Dukes seeing, hastes to the place where his Maister dyned, and acquaints him with this vp-roare in the City. The Duke leapes from the Table so hastily, that hee hurt both his shinnes in the Fourme, and with Sir *Henry Piercy*, alone takes boate, and away hee gets to *Kennington* neere *Lambeth*, where the Princesse with the young Prince lay ; to whom hee complaynes of this Ryot, and the violence offered him. In the meane time the multitude comming to the *Sauoy*, a Priest inquisitiue to know the businesse, was answered, *They went to take the Duke and the Lord Marshall, and compell them, to deliuer Sir Peter de la Mare, vniustly detayned in Prison.* The Priest replied ; *That Sir Peter was a Traytor to the King, and worthy to be hanged.* At which words they all cryed out ; *This is Piercy, this is the Traytor of England, his speech bewrayes him though his apparell be disguised ; and presently they ran vpon him, and wounded him to death.*

The Bishop of *London* appeases the tumult.—The Bishop of *London* hearing of this Out-rage, leaues his dinner, hastes to the *Sauoy*, admonishes them to be mindfull of the *Holy time*, (*beeing Lent*) and for the loue of Christ to desist from such seditious acts ; assuring them, all things should be fairely ended

for the good of the City. Whereupon they were something pacified, and forbear to assault the Dukes house, whose person (if they could haue found) they had (no doubt) made an end of him, and the Lord Marshall in this their fury, at that time ; but missing him, they yet hung vp his Armes reuersed, in signe of Treason in all the principall streetes of the City.

The Citizens send to the King. — The Princesse from Kennington, sent *Albert de Vere, Louys Clifford, and Simon Burleigh* to the Citizens, perswading them to make their peace with the Duke. They returned this answere, *That for her Honour they would do whatsoeuer she commanded*: but yet enioyned the Knights, to will the Duke, to permit the Bishop of Winchester, and Peter de la Mare to come to their Answere, according to the custome of the Lawes of England. They sent likewise of the chiefe Citizens to the sickle King, to excuse them of this Tumult, protesting *themselves not to be priuy thereunto, but sought all meanes to suppresse the same, which they could not do (the whole Communalty being in commotion) vpon an Information, that their Liberties should be taken away from them by Parliament*. The King told them, *It neuer was in his thought to infringe their liberties, but he rather desired to enlarge them*. And therefore willed them not to feare, but returne to appease the Citizens, and keepe them in peace and order : which they did, and were well pleased with this answere. But yet they could not stop the passage of rimes and libels (those secret stings that wound vnseene) but that they were daily spread in the City to the defamation of the Duke, and to make his name odious to the people. For which, hee procured the Bishops to excommunicate the Author of such Rimes, and Libels.

A Subsidy granted in this Parliament. — Notwithstanding this harsh proceeding of the Duke with the State, and in a time so vnseasonable, both for his owne ends and the publike businesse hee vndertooke ; the Commons in Parliament, desirous to ayde their King, granted a Subsidy on this condition,

that being leauied, it should bee committed to certaine *Earles* and *Barons* to see it issued, according to the occasions of the Kingdome. But this Subsidy was of a new Nature neyther in any of those kindes propounded. Euery person, man and woman within the Kingdome, aboue the Age of 14. yeares, were to Pay 4. pence, those who liued by Almes onely excepted. The Clergy likewise grants 12. pence of euery Parson Beneficed ; and of all other Religious persons 4. pence of the head. A mighty and vnknowne ayde, such as neuer was granted to any King of *England* before, and became a Precedent for the next Raigne : wherein it caused the first and greatest popular Insurrection, that euer was seene in this Kingdome : So tender a thing is it to taxe the people by the Poule.

And now hereupon the Parliament ended ; but not the Dukes displeasure against the City. The Maior and Aldermen are brought before the King at *Shene*, and aduised to submit themselves to the Duke, and craue pardon for their grieuous offences. They protest as before : they could not stay the rage of the multitude, who committed those insolencies, beseeching the King not to punish such as were innocent and ignorant / of the fact, promising the Duke, they would indeauour by all meanes to bring in the malefactors, and compell them to make satisfaction, to the honour of the Duke : and more, sayd they, we cannot doe. Whereupon they were dismissed the Court, and shortly after from all their places, by power of the Duke of *Lancaster*: Sir *Nicholas Brember* was elected Mayor in stead of *Adam Staple*, and other Aldermen appointed in their places who were put out.

The death of King *Edward* and the manner thereof.—The King was desirous to haue reconcild them to his Sonne, but sicknesse hauing now vanquished him, hee is forced to giue ouer the world, as the same did him, before his breath left him. And first his Concubine packing away what shee could snatch, euen to the rings of his fingers, left him ; then his

other attendants, by her example, seasing on what they could fasten, shift away, and all his Councillours and others forsooke him in his last agony when most hee needed them, leauing his Chamber quite empty : which a poore Priest in the house seeing, by chance, as he passes, approaches to the Kings bed side, and finding him yet breathing, calles vpon him to remember his Sauiour, and to aske mercy for his offences, which none before about him would doe, but euery one putting him still in hope of life, though they knew death was vpon him (a misery fatall to Princes and great persons, whom flattery will neuer suffer to know themselues, nor their owne state either in health or sicknesse) made him neglectiue of those spirituall cogitations fit for a dying Christian. But now stirred vp by the voyce of this Priest, hee shewes all signes of contrition, and his last breath expresses the name of *Iesu*. Thus dyed this mighty and victorious King, at his mannor of *Shene* (now *Richmond*) the 21 day of June, *Anno Dom. 1377.* in the 64 yeare of his Age, hauing raygned fifty yeaeres, foure moneths and odde daies.

His Character. His Justice. His loue to his people.—His Character wee finde best exprest in his actions, yet thus briefly. Hee was a Prince, he soonest a man, and the longest that held so, of any we reade. Hee was of Personage comely, of an euen stature, gracefull, respectiuely affable, and well expressing himselfe : A Prince who loued 1. *Justice*, 2. *Order*, 3. and his *People*, the Supreame vertues of a Soueraigne. 1. His loue of *Justice*, was seene by the many Statutes he made for the due execution thereof, and the most streight binding oath, hee ordayned to bee ministred vnto his Judges and Iusticiars : the punishment inflicted on them for corruption in their Offices, causing some to be thrust out, and others greuously fined, as Sir *Henry Greene*, and Sir *William Skipwith*, *Anno Reg. 39.* Hee bettered also that forme of publike Justice which his Grand-father first began (and which remaines to this day) making also excellent lawes for the same. 2. His regard to

the obseruation of *Order* amongst his people, witnes so many lawes, as were made to restraine them from Excesses in all kinds. 3. His loue to his subiects, was exprest in the often easing of their grieuances, and his willingnesse to giue them all faire satisfaction, as appeares by the continuall granting of the due obseruation of their *Charters*, in most of his Parliaments. And when (*Anno Reg. 14.*) they were iealous, vpon his assuming the title of the kingdom of *France*, least *England* should thereby come to bee vnder the subiection of that crowne, as being the greater, he to cleare them of that doubt, passed a Statut, in the firmest manner could be deuised; that this Kingdome should remain intyre as before, without violation of the rights it had.

His prouidence.—Prouident he was in all his actions, neuer vndertaking any thing before he had first furnished himselfe with meanes to performe it. And therein his subiects allowed him more with lesse adoe, then euer any of his predecessors had: and he as fairely issued what hee receiued from them, hauing none other priuate vent of profusion, then his enterprizes for aduancing the State, and honor of the Kingdome. True it is, that most attent and carefull he was to get monies, but yet it was without Sackage of any man, such as his grandfather made vpon the Officers of *Justice*, the *Iewes* and officers.

For his gifts we finde them not such as either hurt his owne Fame and reputation, or any way distasted the State. To be short, he was a Prince who knew his worke, and did it: and therefore was he better obeyed, better respected and serued then any of his predecessors. /

His workes of *Pietie*. His buildings.—His *Workes of Piety* were great and many, as the founding of *East-minster*, an Abbey (of the *Cisteaux* Order) neere the Tower. An Abbey for Nunnes at *Detford*. The *Kings Hall* in *Cambridge* for poore *Schollers*. An Hospital for the poore at *Calais*. The building of Saint *Stephens Chappell* at *West-minster*, with the endowment of 300. pound, *per annum*, to that Church. His

augmenting the Chappell at *Windsor*, and prouisions there for Church-men, and 24. poore Knights, &c. These were his publique Workes, the best Monuments and most lasting to glorifie the Memory of Princes. Besides these, his priuate buildings are great and many; as the Castle of *Windsor*, which hee re-edified and enlarged, the Castle of *Quinborow*, Fortifications at *Calais* and other places.

His Magnificence.—His magnificence was showed in his Tryumphes and Feasts, which were sumptuously Celebrated, with all due Rites and Ceremonies: the preseruers of Reuerence and Maiesty. To conclude, he was a Prince, whose nature agreed with his Office; as onely made for it. Those defaillances we finde [in] him at last, wee must not attribute to him but his age, wherein we neuer yet saw Prince happy. When their vigor fayles them (which is commonly about 60.) their Fortune doth. Whilst this Prince held together, he was indissoluable, and as he was then, we take his Figure.

His Wife, and his issue.—Fortunate he was also in his Wife, a Lady of excellent Vertue, who though shee brought him little or none Estate, she brought him much content, some benefit by Alliance, and a faire Issue. She drew euinely with him in all the courses of *Honor* that appertayned to her side, and seemes a peece so iust cut for him, as answered him rightly in euery ioynt. Gracious and louing shee euer shewed her-selfe to this Nation, and did many workes of Piety, amongst which *Queenes Colledge* in *Oxford* remaines especially, a Monument of her Name and Renowne. And it is worthy the Marke, that this *King* and his Grand-father *Edward* the first, the best of our Kings, had the two best Wiues. Which shewes that *worthinesse* is such an *Elixar* as by contaction (if there be any disposition of goodnesse in the same Mettall, it will render it of the Property: So that these *Queenes* could be no otherwise then they were, hauing so excellent Husbands.

She bare vnto him seuen sonnes, whereof fие liued to haue Issue: *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*,

John Duke of Lancaster, Edmond Earle of Cambridge, after Duke of Yorke, and Thomas of Woodstocke, which became Duke of Gloucester. Foure daughters (of fие she bare) liued to be married. *Isabel the eldest: to Ingelram Lord of Couey, Earle of Soissons and Bedford. Ioan to Alphonso II. King of Castile, but she dyed before she lay with him. Mary, to John Monfort Duke of Brittaine. Margaret, to John Hastings, Earle of Pembroke, and shee also dyed without Issue.*

Thus haue we seene the end of this great *King*: who, how he came to the Crowne, we know, and now how he left it wee see: In both are considerations of importance. His stepping ouer his Fathers head to come to his throne, though it were not his fault, yet had it a punishment, and that in a most high kinde: For, hauing so plentifull, and so able an Issue Male, he had not yet a sonne of his owne to sit on his Seate; but left the same (worse then he found it) to a Childe of eleuen yeares of age, exposed to the Ambition of Vncles, which ouer weighed him: to a factious and discontented State at home: To broken and distracted inheritances abroad: Himselfe hauing seene all his great gettings, purchased with so much expence, trauaile and blood-shed, rent cleane from him, and nothing remayning, but onely the poore Towne of *Calais*. To show that our Bounds are prescribed vs; and a Pillar set by Him who beares vp the Heauens, which we are not to transpasse.

The end of the Life and Raigne of Edward the third.





*T*Hus farre haue I brought this Collection, of our History, and am now come to the highest exaliation of this Kingdome, to a State full built, to a Gouernment reared vp with all those maine Couplements of Forme and Order, as haue held it together euer since: notwithstanding those dilapidations made by our ciuill discord, by the Nonage or negligence of Princes, by the alterations of Religion, by all those corruptions which Time hath brought forth to fret and canker-eate the same. And heere I leaue, vnlesse by this which is done, I finde incouragement to goe on.



APPENDIX A.

Vol. iv., p. 235.

PART 1ST of the 'Collection of the Historie of England' (1612 and 1613, 4to) ended with King Stephen. This quarto was divided into three books: (1) pp. 1—70 to Harold the Second; (2) pp. 73—147 to William the First; (3) pp. 149—240 to King Stephen—blank leaves between lib. 1 and lib. 2. Lib. 1 concludes thus:—

" And thus my noble Lord, haue I, in the straightest course, the uneuen compasse of Antiquitie could direct me, got ouer the wide and intricate passage of those times, that lay beyond the worke I purpose more particularly to deliuier " [to Viscount Rochester].

Having kept the quarto before me in reading our proof-sheets, I discovered that in a few places the Author has added somewhat and slightly adapted the prior text, e.g.—

Vol. iv., page 191, Robert is corrected to Richard Mowbray, and from "which are sayd" down to "crowne" inserted.

" page 197, from "That he" down to "the seruant" inserted.

" page 217, from "Though otherwise" down to "empresse" inserted.

" page 233, from " which seemes" down to " Wallingford"—and other slighter things not worth recording.

The following quaint appeal on 'Errata' seems worthy of preservation :—

" For the Faults committed herein, Charitable Reader, know they are not the Printers (who hath bin honestly carefull for his part), but meerly mine owne : freely confessing myselfe to be more an honorer then searcher of antiquities that be far off from us, and onely studious of the generall

notions, which especially concerne the succession of affaires of action, which is the part I haue vndertakē. And therefore I trust all worthy spirits in that respect will pardon me and reforme my knowledge, rather by way of conference then detraction ; for no man truly ingenious is malignant. And (if I liue) after this priuate impression, which is but of a few coppies for my friends, I will amend what is amisse in the publique. I have gote ouer the worst and roughest part of the worke, and am now come into a more playne and open passage, where I shall be better able to stand to answer for what shall be done, and I trust, haue more helpes of my frendes, and all worthy men that are furnishit with matter of this nature, whom I inuoke to assist mee, and who, seeing my honest ends, I trust will not deny their Country the knowledge of what they haue. And especially herein I rely vpon the ayde of the right worthy and well-deseruing knight, Sir Robert Cotton, who, out of his choyce and excellent store, can best furnish this worke."

Spite of the promise, the ‘publique’ editions (folios) were no advance in accuracy of printing on the quartos. As stated in our note (vol. iv., p. 70), we chose the folio of 1626 for our ‘copy,’ as having gone forth from the press of the Author’s bosom-friend Simon Waterson—remembered in the Poet’s Will (vol. i., pp. xxvi.-vii.) ; but we have had silently to correct many misplaced letters and to correct obvious mis-spellings.

A P P E N D I X B.

Vol. v., pp. 139, 144, etc., etc.

DANIEL’S (to us) odd spellings reveal the tadpole form (so-to-say) of a considerable number of words that have since his time been accepted. See our Glossarial Index with Notes and Illustrations in the present volume. Some of his peculiar parenthetic enclosures, too, *e.g.* “(possessing likewise)” and the like, that occur frequently, are landmarks in our language’s sentence-making.

APPENDIX C.

Vol. iv., p. 71.

THE pamphlet on alleged corrupting “alterations in Mr. Daniel’s History” is one of a bundle bound together all less or more related. The controversy seems to have been very much a logomachy, and carried on in the worst spirit. The special tractate is entitled “Mr. Oldmixon’s Reply to the late Bishop of Rochester’s Vindication . . . Examined. Wherein is given An Account of the numerous Alterations in Mr. Daniel’s History as ’tis printed in the Compleat History of England, of which Mr. Oldmixon has declared himself the Sole Editor, etc., 1732.” This is the allegation (p. 14): “Upon this Declaration, then, I proceed to acquaint my Readers that Mr. Daniel’s History as ’tis printed for that Collection (sc. the Complete History of England) is in a vast number of places alter’d, every page (as far as I have compar’d it with the true History) abounding with Alterations in the Text. That if I am to make a Judgment of the whole from those Pages I haue collated, supposing the Alterations in other parts as numerous as in those I have examined, I could not reckon less than between two and three thousand.” This is a mere *mare’s nest*. The alterations seem to be only orthographical, and the main “mending” belongs not to Daniel’s portion at all, but to a much later period.

A. B. G.



HERE FOLLOW, TOVCHING THE FOR- mer subiect, certaine notable de- uises both militarie and amorous,

Collected by Samuell Daniell.¹



Certaine gentleman of Italie named *Hermet Stampo*, a Prelate, bare for his deuise a Lawrell tree menaced with lightning, with this briefe: *Nec sorte, nec fato*, to signifie that his vertue could not be endamaged or anoyed by any fatale chaunce, for lightning (as writeth *Plinie*) hath no powre to hurt the *Lawrell*.

The same *S. Stampo*, being created Marquise of *Soncino*, and hauing married a wife, leauing his Ecclesiasticall habite: represented this deuise: two *Palme* trees, the male and female, which neuer bring foorth fruite, vnles they are one planted by the other, adioyning thereunto this mot: *Mutua fœcunditas*.

His brother the Earle *Maximian*, being amorous of a Lady named *Anna Moronna*, who afterward was his wife, had for his *Impresa* a silk worme, which only liueth with the leaues of / the *Mulberie* tree, which tree in *Lombardie* is called *Moronna*, with this mot: *Suol di cio viuo*, which is halfe this verse of *Petrarch*: *Suol di cio viuo e d' altro mi calpoco*. Thus

¹ These additional original pages supersede the need of any specimen of the translated treatise itself (in no wise remarkable): vol. iv. p. 2.

in English : Onely of this I liue disdayning other foode ; to shewe that as the little beast doth only liue by those leaues, so he onely contented himselfe to feede on the leaues of his loue, in hope one day to enjoy the fruit of legitimate marriage.

The Earle *Baptista di Lodron*, who died at the taking of *Gazal Montferrato*, had for his perticular deuise a Calthrope, a Stratagematical instrument vsed in warre, made with three yron prickes so ioyned, that howsoeuer it be throwen, one prick alwayes standeth vpright, with this Posie thereunto : *In vtrag. fortuno* : to signifie that the value and constancie of his noble mynde, in all fortunes vncertainties, remayned firme and vpright.

Gasper de Mayno, a Knight of *Millan*, bare a Stock-doue with a Diamant in her bill, being the nature of this birde neuer to lose any thing it hath once taken, thereby to inferre, that he would neuer giue ouer to loue his Lady, whose vowed seruant he faithfully remayned, whose name was also *Diamante*. His mot was : *In æternum*.

The *Lisard* of all his properties, hath one most rare and admirable, among the wonderfull and infinite effects of nature, which is, it is / neuer in loue, to the which all other beasts doe yeeld, whereupon *S. Federico* Duke of *Mantona*, made him this *Impresa* : The *Lisard* figured, with this mot : *Quod huic deest me torquet*. Meaning thereby that it was the loue of his Lady which tormented him, from the which torments this beast was exempt.

The Earle *Maurucio Pietra*, who afterward was Bishop of *Vigena*, being Student in *Suna*, tooke to his surname *Disarmato*, for that being a souldier, he left the practise of Armes, and tooke him selfe to his studies, whereby he amounted at length to the Pontificall dignitie. He had for his deuise a Snayle, with her head foorth of her shel wounded with an arrowe, & his mot was this verse of *Petrarch* : *Trouommi amor del tutto disarmato*. Thus in English : Loue did me finde vnarmed, quite alluding to his surname, and also to the *Impresa* of that vniuersitie, which was a Snayle put into the fire, which feeling

the heate thereof doth scritche, wherevpon the Louewormes, slaues to affections, would inferre that they being all fiered with amourous flames, were constrainyd to sing and discharge in languishing verse their sweete sowre-passions.

Sinior Charlo Vrsino, had for his *Impresa* a Ball mounted vp on hye with the stroke of an hardie arme with this mot *Perculus eleuor*, which might be alluded to his inuincible courage, who the more his power was abated by / aduerse fortune, the more he seemed to exalt his vnconquered mind by force of vertue.

A yong gallant of *Salerna*, hauing a long time serued a curteous and beautifull dame, and at length by the fauour of the winged boy cropped both the flower and fruite of his long deferred pleasures, to the extreme contentment of ech of them both. But fortune fell to good hap, set her eniuious foote in the pleasant plotte of their delights, to fade the sweete sauoring Flowres of their vnconstant ioyes. For this youth roming about the citie, vnhappely hapned to fixe both his rouing eyes and flitting fancie on the face of a yong Damosell adorned with infinite beautie, and was so ardently inamored, that he doted vpon her. In which new affection, the heauens seemed so fauourable to further his purpose, that he easely trayned the tender heart of his yeelding Lady to the lure of his loue, as one greatly delighted to liue by exchaunging: whereupon (as louers are commonly wont to beare open eares and vnclosed eyes, and often to repeate a false tale for trueth), his first faoured, to whome bruted fame had reueyled the transported affection of the wandering youth, seeing her selfe abandoned, liued desolate, plunged in the dedepth of all perplexities, and almost desperate. Yet at the length waighing her case with wisdome, did moderate / the grieve of her disaster, without discouering to any her secret sorowe, purposing onely to disclose, by some couert meane, to the disloyall and vngratefull louer, her pensiue and passionate heart. And thereupon she caused a false Diamant, to be so cunningly set in

Gold, that it would easely haue deceiued any man saue onely the expert artificer, and within the ring next vnto the finger, she had made to be engrauen this mot in *Ebrewe*: *Lamaz abatani*, which done, all dissolued into teares she sent it to her loue, praying him, if any pittie or pietie remayned in the breast of a periured, to haue compassion on her, and restore her his loue. The youth being learned and discrete, that at the first sight he vnderstoode the Hebrewe mot, yet could he not comprehend what secret the deuise (imported) vntill by chaunce shewing his ring to a frend of his, an excellent gold smith, who told him that the Stone was a counterfeit, he began to meditate on the mistery, and loue hauing opened the eyes of his vnderstanding, he soone perceiued thereby the lamentable complaint of the miserable Lady, and the iniury he had done her: resoluing into two words the mot of the false Diamant, in this sort: *Di amante falso.* (Of a false Louer.) Adding thereunto her mot out of the Gospell, signifying why hast thou forsaken me? Whereupon the gentleman sorowing his fact, had compassion on the / desolate dame, placing her againe in the possession of his loue, which she long time after enjoyed.

The Earle *Clemente Pietro* being amorous of a Ladie, enforced for a time to depart frō her, had for his *Impresa* an Elephant, which by nature (as saith *Plinie*) knowing that the Hūters pursue it for no other thing but for his teeth, (which are of admirable vertue) he knocketh them out against a tree: His mot was out of *Petrarch*. *Laseai di me la meglior parte a dietro*, I left behind the better parte of me.

The same Gentleman being also at another time inamoured of a Gentlewoman named *Laura*, he had for his deuise a Rauen cōbatting with a Cameleon, who being hurte and inuenomed by his enemie, knowing the wound to bee deadlie, to cure himselfe taketh the fruite of the Laurel in his mouth: his mot was, *Hinc sola salus*: to signifie that his amorous wound neede no better *Cataplisme*, then his Ladie *Laura*.

He had also another, being Captaine of the Horsmen in

Piedmont, which was an Egle flying so high against the Sunne that it burned her feathers, with this mot, *Aude aliquid dignum*.

The fourth deuise of this worthie Knight, was a naked sworde hauing this mot, *Ex hoc in hoc*: to shewe how he was to trie by the sworde his iust cause, and the reason he had to / combat with his enemie.

Giovanni Battista Bottigella, an honorable Gentleman desirous to expresse an amorous conceipt, had for his *Impresa* a Ship with hoysed sayle, and the Fishe called in Latin *Remora* holding it fast: which Fishe (as *Plinie* recounteth) is of such great force, that if it take to a Ship, it staieth it and holdeth the same so fast, that neither the furie of windes, nor any other force, is of power to stirre it: His mot was, *Sic frustra*: signifying that euen so it nothing preuailed him to bee faithfull and constant to his Ladie, sith she shewed her selfe rigorous and cruell towards him.

Hippolito Girami a Gentleman of *Millan*, at the warres of *Siena*, in the seruice of the Emperour, bare a sworde figured, with a Serpent twinding about it, hauing a Laurell garland in his mouth, with this posie, *His ducibus*. The sword in this place signifying strēgh and value of bodie: The Serpent wisedome and vertue of minde.

A certaine Gentleman to signifie that according to his courteouse and gentle nature, he was willing to please in euery vertuouse and reasonable action, but by force, and cōstraint he was not cōpelled to do any thing: wherevpon he figured a Palme tree, whose propertie is sufficiently knowne, with this mot, *Flectimur obsequio non viribus*.

An Italian Ladie named *Liulia Tormiella*, was / in her life most beautifull, & of rare chastitie, who to signifie the integritie of her worthie mind wholie addicted to vertue, had depainted *Heliotropium* the Marigold, which alwaies turneth towrdes the Sunne, as if it had sence, with this mot, *Vertitur ad solem*.

An honorable Gentleman hauing vnfortunatlie maried a wife of singulare beautie, but (according to the common rumour)

of single honestie. For all which knewe him, verely beleeuued that she offred him an extreme iniurie, as in trueth she did. But the poore Gentleman (as commonly it hapneth in the like case) perceiuing her vnfaithfull dealing, dronke vp his sorrowe in silence, intreating (notwithstanding) his wife honorablie, in all louely manner: supposing thereby, for that she sprāg of noble blood, that she would become faithfull and loyall, respecting her honor. But herein he was greatly deceiued: for the disloyall Dame hauing sauoured the sweete of sondrie dishes, neglected her olde diet as vnpleasant to her insatiable appetite, which he to his insupportable grieve vnderstanding, to excuse his hard hap, figured *Argus* with his hundred eyes garding *Io* the Minion of *Jupiter* transformed into a Cowe, who, notwithstanding his diligent watching was deceiued of his chardge: Hereunto he added this mot, *Frustra vigilant.*

Girolamo Palauicino, did beare for his *Impresa* / an Egle, which according to *Plinie*, only of all Birdes, hath neuer beene slaine with an Arrowe: wherfore he is sayd to carie the weapons of *Jupiter*: hereby to signifie that he had neuer bin striken with the wrath of the heauens: and although he had bin with great iniurie persecuted, yet was he againe restored to felicitie and honor: his mot was, *Est mihi sorte datum.*

A certaine Gentleman hauing espoused a noble and vertuouse wife, caused her to weare for her *Impresa* a Snayle closed in her shell, as she remaineth all the winter, to defende her from the cold, with this Posie, *Proprio alitur succo*: to signifie that she should satisfie her self with the loue of her owne husband, euen as the Snayle is nourished with her owne moysture.

A Dutch Gentleman soiourning at *Naples*, the nurce of delicious pleasures, and recourse of all vices, in the blouming flower of his youthfull yeares, being well monied, became amorous of a Dame, with whō he spent both his vnrecouerable time, and consumed his dearlie gotten treasure, in vaine delights, and vnconstaunt pleasures. But at length cōceiuing his error, knowing whether his youth and this abuse would

bring him, accepting good councell retired from *Naples*, to escape the toyles of inticing affections. And to shew his intention he figured a Bucke, couched in a ditch : / being the nature of this beast, that after hauing conioyned with the female, doth so lothe himselfe by reason of the stenche of his filthinesse, that he retireth solitarilie into some ditch, wherein he remaineth vntil there happen a great shoure of rayne to washe and make him cleane : and afterward returneth againe to feede : his Posie was, *Lasciuiae pænitentia*.

The Captaine *Consaluo Fernando* in the last warres at *Naples*, performed great employtes, but rather by pollicie then any great power, whereby he alwaies ouercame in Battell : and desirous to manifest to the worlde, how he was ayded by his subtile practises, tooke for his *Impresa* a Crossebowe bent with a rache, and thereunto this Posie, *Ingeniū superat vires*.

A certaine gentleman after his long and tedious suite, finding the soyle which he tilled altogether fruitles, and the flintie heart of his mistresse to afforde him no fauour, to shewe that his maladie was without remedy, he figured an heart wounded with an arrow, with a branch of the herbe *Dictamus* in his mouth, which herbe groweth plentifully in *Candia*, whereof the wounded Hart eating is said to be cured, with this Spanish mot therevnto. *Esto tiene su remedio y non yo*, As much to say, this beast findeth remedie, and not I : like vnto that, whereas *Phœbus* in *Ouid*, complayneth of his loue to *Daphne*, saying : /

Hei mihi quod nullis amor est medicabilis herbis.

Sinior Pyrho di Stipiciana, being at the defence of *Carignan* in *Piedmont*, valiantly sustayned the siege against Mons. *d'Augnian*, and all the French Campe, and (after that the Marquise of *Vasto* was discomfited at *Cerisole*, where the Emperours part lost the battayle) he before he would yeeld, although greatly destitute of victuals, held them out fourtie dayes, and at the length, hauing no hope of succour, he was constrainyd to yeeld, and so departing from *Carignan*, went (according to the othe he had made) vnto the King of France,

who greatly honoring his vertue, albeit he was his enemy, made him the proffer of great preferment if he would serue him. But *Sinior Pirhus* rendring thanks to his maiestie, refused all conditions and offers made. Afterwarde vpon this he had figured for his *Impresa* the horse of *Julius Cæsar*, who woulde neuer suffer any other rider, which had (as sayth *Plinie*) his fore feete like vnto the feete of a man, and so was he figured in the temple of *Venus*. His mot: was: *Soli Cæsari*, Faithfull onely to the Emperour.

An amorous gentleman of *Milan* bare in his Standard a Torch figured burning, and turning downward, whereby the melting wax falling in great abouundance, quencheth the flame. With this Posie thereunto. *Quod me alit me extinguit*. Alluding to a Lady, whose beautie / did foster his loue, and whose disdayne did endamage his life.

A noble minded Gentleman (whose worthy vertues, sith in flowring yeres they haue purchased the happie fauour of each mans voyce, little neede the simple *Blazon* of my rude pensill) hath for his *Impresa* a sworde with this Greeke mot (*πιστως σαι παραμενω*. (Fideliter perseuero in fide illi.) Vowing thereby

his loyall seruice to his lawfull soueraine, perseuering
constant and faithfull, following the example of
his worthy progenitors, vnder whose
Ensigne both I and these
my simple labours
hope to find
fauour.

FINIS.



GLOSSARIAL-INDEX,
INCORPORATING
NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS
OF
THE WORKS.

NOTE.

Though matterful and much more needed than Mr. James Russell Lowell imagined (Memorial-Introduction II. Critical, p. xxiv), I have not found it necessary (except now and again on separate words) to draw upon the spontaneously offered help of fellow-workers (as noticed in Vol. I., p. x), in the preparation of this Glossarial-Index, with Notes and Illustrations. But I hope and expect that in no case will it be consulted in vain. Many of the words—long accepted as idiomatic English—tempt to examination and commentary; but I have already trespassed sufficiently on the student-Reader's attention—not to say that he will himself be readily guided thereto by the present record. Only a single expression I must notice—viz., “conceled Philosophers,” that occurs in the Epistle of N[icholas] W[hithalk] before Paulus Jovius's tractate (IV. 14). Nothing in itself, it takes new significance in the light of Bacon's phrase to Sir John Davies of ‘we concealed poets,’ that has been made so hysterically much of in the preposterous Bacon-Shakespeare Theory. I know not if it will at all illuminate either way; but it seemed worth making a note of. This seems the right place to give references to places illustrative of the rhyme and metrical system of Daniel. By turning to these it will be found that, as earlier in the “Mirror for Magistrates” and Spenser, Daniel felt quite at liberty to cut and carve his spelling of words and rhyme-endings.

Vol. I., pp. 44, 50, 73, 84, 91, 94, 102 (*bis*), 107, 198, 223, 226, 227, 229, 233, 239, 241, 245, 247, 253, 271, 281, 295; Vol. II., pp. 10, 23, 29, 33, 42, 54, 62, 63, 74, 76, 87, 88, 90, 103, 127, 195, 230, 290, 316; Vol. III., pp. 55, 75, 79, 80, 225 ('harmon' for 'harmony'), 230, 261, 277. Another thing seemingly peculiar to Daniel is that he not only repeats in two successive lines the same rhyme but the same word: e.g., Vol. II., 184, 186; Vol. III., 111, 148, 159, 171, 233, 292, 296. Had Carlyle read Daniel—and in his omnivorous appetite he may—he must have been delighted with many of his compound epithets descriptive of character. See the words 'faire-fierce'—'feeble-force'—'formless-forme'—'great-seeming'—'happy-haplesse'—'sweet-sour'—'gently-severe'—etc., etc., etc. All this will come up in Vol. X. Spenser, corrective of the common idea that he was exceptional in his dealing with his vocabulary, spellings, and rhymes. It need hardly be said that I have made no attempt to put into this Glossarial-Index the abundant names of persons and places of the "History"—often strangely disguised by their then spelling, especially English and French proper names. Much less have I attempted to annotate them. It is as narrative-historic literature, not as history, that the "Collection" is thus carefully reproduced. Finally—the hastiest glance will reveal multitudes of words in men's mouths to-day, that it had been superfluous pains to include in our Glossarial-Index. The following slight errata I have put into the Index: see 'about' for 'above,' 'forelone' for 'forlorn,' etc., etc. I must beg the Reader *instanter* to put right the Printer's unhappy slip, overlooked all too late, of Oxoniensis for 'Oxonienses' (Vol. I. xii), which gave me a grue (*Scotice* shiver) when detected.

A. B. G.

GLOSSARIAL-INDEX.

Abastardized, iii. 300 = rendered illegitimate or base. Nares could only cite this place (Halliwell's & Wright's ed., *s.v.*).

Abator, i. 86 = abettor.

Aboard, ii. 184 = aboard (here) — elsewhere different meaning. Cf. 'boord.'

About — misprint for 'above,' i. 111

Abroade, all, i. 245 = at large or circulating.

Acceptilations, iii. 252 — pseudo-legal term for 'acceptances.'

Accidence, ii. 161, iii. 157 = accident (for rhyme). The former must be queried.

Accroceraunii, iv. 26 = the lofty mountain range between Macedonia and Epirus (now Kimera).

Acon = Acre, v. 142, *et freq.*

Addaunted, ii. 140 = intimidated.

Adjoyns, ii. 161 = associates or attendants. Again Nares could only cite this place.

Admire = wonder, i. 54, 286, ii. 58, iii. 230, 254, *et fr.*; admireth, i. 66; admirable, ii. 97; admiration, i. 8, iv. 159

Adrian, wall of, i. 143

Advisement, ii. 45 = advice, consultation.

Afeard = afraid (Somerset dialect), iv. 259

Affect = choose, i. 50, ii. 118, iii. 371; affects = affections, i. 95, 119; affected, i. 175, iv. 129;

affecting, ii. 120; affectioned, ii. 138, iv. 292

Affection, iv. 59, 66 = a curious desire of a thing which nature hath not given. Rider (Wright, *s.v.*).

Affidation, iv. 225 = pledge of good faith; hence *affidavit*.

Affronted, iv. 88 = met, encountered. Cf. Nares, *s.v.*

After-care, ii. 194; -commers, i. 237; -flyers, ii. 305; -fortune, ii. 47; -shame, iii. 108; -wages, i. 111

Aidfullest, i. 191 = most helpful.

Alarumes, i. 180; allarme, iv. 62, 146 = warning (as by bell).

Alas, iii. 369, 391 = exclamation (not always compassionately).

Alexander the Great ('yong man'), iii. 118

Alien = alienate, ii. 133

All-arme, iv. 62

Allegiancy, iii. 180 = allegiance.

Almoner — misprinted 'amoyner' in 'History' (folio), 1626, iv. 250

Alone = one, single, i. 25, 31, *i.e.* all-and-one or one-of-all.

Amasse, iv. 53

Ambassage, ii. 328, iv. 251 = embassy. Also ambassade and ambassate.

Ambri, i. 236; qy. after Mary Ambree, of whom see Nares, *s.v.*

Amove, ii. 224, v. 279 = remove, displace.

Amuze, i. 235, iii. 133; amuzing, ii. 87 = divert attention.

- A**mymone, i. 94; daughter of Danaus and Elephantis, and grandmother of Palamedes.
- A**nalepticall elexiphar, iii. 255 = restorative.
- A**nne, queen—wife of James I., i. 8, iii. 329, iv. 13, 79, 80
- A**pophilegmitismes, iii. 252—one of “the hideous termes of art” in context.
- A**ppaled = pallid, iv. 116; terrified?
- A**pparances = appearances, i. 165, 214, 261, iii. 204; apparent = visible, i. 180, 214; apparent-darke, ii. 111; apparencty, ii. 279
- A**pparrant marke, iv. 94
- A**ppeached = impeached, iii. 116
- A**ppendix of authorities—never appeared, iv. 82
- A**pprove = prove, i. 73, ii. 35; approv'd, ii. 163
- A**rcadia, Queene's, iii. 207—300
- A**rchitect, iii. 176. Cf. Greene's ‘Selimus,’ s.v.; read also Drayton's “O Thou strong builder of the firmament.”
- A**rcobus = arquebus, urquebus, iv. 26
- A**rier-gard = rear-guard, iv. 147
- A**rkes = arches, i.e. eyebrows? i. 49, 73; arke, ii. 156
- A**rgus, i. 99. A Carolian satire says wickedly of a Puritan preacher, “all Argus hundred eyes he had sent to sleep.”
- A**rmethewt? iv. 183
- A**rrant = errand. So in Raleigh's renowned poem, “Go Soul, the body's guest”: iii. 235
- A**rtificially = skilfully, or with art wrought, iv. 10, *et freq.*
- A**rtillery—horrors of, ii. 225-6
- A**sperous, iv. 106 = rough, uneven.
- A**spickes, iii. 30, 83 = asps.
- A**ssarts = claims, v. 100
- A**sse Isis, i. 245—the classic commonplace of the bearer of the goddess's casket, etc.
- A**ssecure, ii. 109, 138 = make sure of, make safe. Nares and Wright give only this place.
- A**ttemptive, i. 145, iv. 37 = ready to attempt, enterprising.
- A**ttent = attention, i. 238; attend, iv. 205
- A**ttonement, of their mindes = at-one-ment; agreeing, iv. 119, 262
- ‘Autumne of my beauty,’ iii. 39. Cf. Herbert's ‘autumnal beauty’ (of his mother).
- A**ventine retire = retirement or retreat = palace grounds, ii. 108
- A**verroes, iii. 352
- A**vowment, iv. 151 = avowal or declaration.
- A**way = departure, i. 264
- B**acon, Roger, iv. 50
- B**ad to worse, ii. 33, 135—an ancient saying.
- B**ankrot = bankrupt, i. 86
- B**anquiers = bankers, v. 246
- B**aptization, iv. 107
- B**arley-breake, iii. 221, 251, 338; breake, iii. 338. See Nares, s.v., for a full note; also in our ‘Unique and Rare Books’ our reproduction of Samuel Nicholson's “Barley Breake.”
- B**artas, Du (by Sylvester), i. 281. Our collective edition of Sylvester's complete works form 2 vols. 4to of the Chertsey Worthies Library.
- B**artolists, i. 194; query = a lawyer (?) earlier form of ‘barrister’ (?)—not in Lely's Wharton.
- B**earing-time = birth-time, ii. 252
- B**ed-brokers, i. 107, iii. 226 = panders, licentious.
- B**edford, Countess of, i. 209. She was Lucy, wife of Edward, third Earl of Bedford, and d. of John Lord Harrington. Her most enduring monument is Jonson's Epigram (so-called) No. 76. On ll. 83-92 (i. 211-12) Hartley Coleridge annotates:—Annex these lines as a note and modest answer to the lines in Milton's

"Paradise Regained" in Christ's reply—

"However, many books
Wise men have said are wearisome,"
etc. (*Par. Reg.*, b. iv.)

Beefes, iv. 176 = cattle, oxen. So
'muttons' for sheep, freq.

Begin = began, ii. 20

Belique warre, i. 176

Belide = belied, i. 237, iii. 33

Bessin, iv. 185

Bickering, v. 250 = skirmishing.

Bils = bill-hooks, iv. 132

Blank verse approved, iv. 65, and
frequently adopted in his rhymed
Plays.

Boadicea—spelled Voadicea, iv. 92,
et fr.

Boaw = bow, ii. 304

Bodley, Sir Thomas, i. 4

Bokeland, iv. 172 = land registered.

Boords, iii. 50 = accosts, assails ;
boord = table, i. 110

Boy, winged = Cupid, v. 299

Bracke, iv. 110 = stain, fault.

Brangling, iv. 113; also branling,
iv. 156

Brave = splendidly, i. 125; bravery,
i. 161, iv. 8, 211—in Somersetshire
for 'well,' 'recovering';
braving, ii. 236, 243; bravado,
iv. 37.

Bretton, Nicholas, Flourish of Fancie,
iv. 8: in our collective edition
of the verse and prose of this
worthy in Chertsey Worthies
Library, 2 vols. 4to.

Bright, short-liv'd, i. 263 (sb.)
Milton has it. So 'clear,' as sb.
in Drayton: "That cleare which
doth World's cleernesse quite
surpassee" (5th Ecl.).

Bullingbrooke = Bolingbroke, ii.
37, *et freq.* On st. 69, ll. 7, 8,
Hartley Coleridge annotates:—
"This expression savours not of
Daniel's usual wisdom. Boling-
broke's usurpation cost all the
blood. I am always provoked

when I hear of "*the bloodless
Revolution of '88*," as if it were
not the aftermath of the Great
Rebellion, and as if there had
been no blood shed at Killie-
crankie, the Boyne, Londonderry,
Aghrun, Sheriff Moor, Preston
Pans, or Culloden,—not to speak
of the noble lives that perished
on the scaffold or the tree, to
them not ignominiously, and of
the bloody wasteful foreign war,
of which that dirty business was
at least a co-cause." (*Essays
and Marginalia*, ii. 13.)

Burns, Robert, iii. 381—this charming
little song has the like shy
lover's injunction in Burns' fine
song of "Whistle and I'll come
to ye, my lad."

Busht = hidden, iii. 354

Bustles, v. 89

But = so much as, ii. 137; but =
reservation, iii. 174. Cf. *Ant. &
Cleop.*, ii. 5, 50, "I do not like
'But yet,' it does allay the good
precedence." So l. 52.

Cadaceum, iii. 190 = herald's staff
(from Mercury's caduceus).

Cades = Cadiz, ii. 213

Caduce and shield, i. 176. See
'Cadaceum.'

Caliestherion, iv. 15, qy. 'crown-
royal ?

Campion, Thomas, iv. 333 f.; fine
attitude of Daniel toward him:
yet severe judgment of his theories,
iv. 41, 56, 60, 61, 62, 63, 66,
67

Cantonize = constitute into 'can-
tons,' as still in Switzerland, v.
264

Care-charmer, i. 72. See Memorial-
Introduction II.—Critical on
this often appropriated compound
word.

Caron = Charon, i. 82

Case-way = cause-way, iv. 147 (*bis*).

Cassat, v. 108; form of 'cassee' =

- cancel or deprive of. See 'Cast,' and Nares, *s.v.*
- Castles in the aire, i. 90—a phrase made imperishable in James Bal-lantyne's exquisite nursery song so entitled.
- Cast to seeke, iv. 217; cast = dissolved or dispersed or disbanded, v. 271. See 'Cassat,' and Nares under 'Casse.'
- Cast-up, i. 269; cast, iii. 65, astrological term, *e.g.* to 'cast nativities.'
- Chaucer, i. 230
- Cheer'd—misprint for 'cleer'd, i. 149, but cf. st. 26, l. 8, 'cheeres'; cheere reposed = calm, i. 218, ii. 115, 180; cheerlinesse, ii. 320; cheere-marrer, iii. 85
- Chickings = chickens, v. 188
- Churchscot, iv. 123 = payment or contribution to Church. Cf. 'Ramescot.'
- Circumpass'd = encompassed, i. 55
- Civille Warr*, iii. 1—399; civility = civilisation, iv. 134; civil = civilised, iv. 39 *et fr.*
- Clay = mortal, i. 184
- Cleopatra*, iii. 1—94; see Professor Saintsbury on iii. vii—xi; also our Memorial - Introduction II. Critical.
- Clifford, Lady Anne, i. 213. See Memorial-Introduction—I. Biographical, and II. Critical; on the Cliffords of Craven, see Dr. Drake's 'Mornings in Spring,' 1828, 2 vols.
- Cloath, English, v. 218
- Colaxicall, iii. 256; pseudo-medical term (as in context).
- Colfe, Peter, i. 278—a celebrated early publisher.
- Collapsion, iv. 90 = collapse.
- Collate = bestow, i. 6, 153, ii. 234, iv. 149. Still used ecclesiastically, *e.g.*, to collate so-and-so to a church or office; collating, iv. 171; collation, iv. 42, 101 = reading and comparing.
- Collation = comparison, iv. 62. See 'Collate.'
- Collier, J. Payne, i. 80 : besides his notorious frauds and forgeries (as exposed by Dr. Ingleby, Mr. Hamilton, and Mr. G. F. Warner), any of his reprints that I have had occasion to compare have proved slovenly or carelessly done; in fact, almost mere waste-paper.
- Colours, i. 92, 185, 199, 229, 239, 246, *et fr.* Bacon's "*Colours of Good and Evil*" has made the vivid word classic; colour'd, ii. 105; colourings, ii. 136
- Comberments, i. 254, ii. 218, iii. 359 = troubles, encumbrances.
- Combinemts, iv. 88 = combinations.
- Com'd = arrived, i. 85, 96; com'n, ii. 43, 140; comming grace, i. 133
- Comically, v. 81
- Conceled, iv. 14. See Note before this Glossarial Index on this Baconian phrase.
- Concurrent, iv. 132, 246; concurrency, ii. 327, iii. 132, iv. 53, 97; concurre, iii. 190
- Concussion = coercion, i. 6, iii. 132, iv. 162; concussed, iii. 132, misprint 'concurson' for 'concussion' (?), i. 191, ii. 133
- Confines, i. 43, ii. 226, iv. 190; confiners = borderers or neighbours, ii. 17, 37, iv. 145, v. 218; confining = bordering or neighbouring, ii. 136
- Constantine, iv. 185
- Contexture, iv. 75, 81
- Contrist, iv. 145 = sadness.
- Cornish = cornice, iii. 316
- Couch, Quiller-, A. T.: I have 'conveyed' from this brilliant critic a fine appreciation of Daniel (Memorial - Introduction, IV. xxix). Yet I have been compelled to deal with several strange misreadings; and now I feel constrained to put a black cross on another place. After stating his theory of

necessary imitativeness on the part of poets—utterly irrelevant to Daniel—he proceeds: “ But for a poet of this class to reach the heights of song, there must come a time when out of imitation he forms a genuine style of his own, and loses no mental fertility in the transformation. This, if I may use the metaphor, is the *mauvais pas* in the ascent of Parnassus: and here Daniel broke down. He did indeed acquire a style of his own, but the effort exhausted him. He was no longer prolific; his ardour had gone; and his innate self-distrustfulness made him quick to recognise his sterility” (pp. 56, 57, as before). Criticism of this type is utterly misleading and misdirected. As simple matter-of-fact, Daniel went on writing to the close, and his latest is equal to his finest early workmanship. Sterility! and yet his collected Works fill herein five goodly volumes! Not any failure of power, but the mephitic atmosphere of the Court of James (as ‘Q’ elsewhere recognises), after the death of his true patron-friend Queen Anne, led to retirement and moods of dejection. Nothing else is tolerable as an explanation. (See the reference given in Memorial-Introduction II. Critical for his own lofty self-estimate and consciousness of a secure fame.) See also further under ‘Egerton’ in this Glossarial-Index.

Countermonts, iii. 141 = counter-mounts, embankments (fortified).

Courfeu = curfew, iv. 199; courfeu bell, iv. 199

Credits crackt = reputations damaged, ii. 41, 131

Credulous, ii. 7, iii. 139; credulitie, ii. 228, iii. 272—not in our present deteriorated sense of over-believing.

Crossado, v. 139

Crowd, iv. 54 = a fiddle. In Somerset dialect ‘crowd string’ is a fiddle string, and ‘crowdy-kit’ a small fiddle. Drayton uses our ‘violin’ (=fiddle) distinct from ‘crowd’—

“ *Violins strike up aloud,
Ply the gittern, scowr the crowd.*”
Nymph.

Crusades (‘devoutfull action’), ii. 16

Cumberland, Lady Margaret, Countess of, i. 117, 203. Charles Kingsley quotes from this poem, and some may think improves, thus—

“ This makes, that whatever else befall
We in the region of ourselves remain
Neighbouring a Heaven; and that no
foreign land.”
Notes and Queries, 2nd S., ix. 306.

Curature, iv. 151 = protection.

Curiosity = interrogativeness, i. 16, iv. 81; curious = inquisitive, i. 248, 251, ii. 225; iii. 188

Dacus, iv. xxxiv-vi. As ‘Dacus’ = a Dacian has no meaning here, perhaps it was slyly meant to latinize the Greek δάκος = a wild beast, a noxious biting animal.

Danaus, i. 95

Danegilt, iv. 126 (explained *in loco*).

Daniel, John, i. 6, *et fr.*: letter to Sir John Pickering 13 Nov., 1598, Harleian MSS. 6208: query the poet’s brother?

Daniel, Samuel—‘Memorial-Introduction I. Biographical,’ Vol. I., pp. ix—xxviii: Prefatory note, pp. vii—viii.; plan and system in editing, x; portrait, facsimile, x; Daniel, variously spelled, a not infrequent name, xi; Cornwall, *ib.*; *Gentleman’s Mag.*, *ib.*; Anthony à Wood xi, xii.; father ‘music-master’ Fuller; qy. confusion of father and brother?, xii; “a wealthy family,” *ib.*;

birthplace 'not far from Taunton,' xii-xiii ; 'Taunton-dean,' *ib.* ; Somerset names, xix ; birth-date 1562 or 1563, *ib.* ; 'commoner' in Magdalen Hall, Oxford, *ib.* ; 'excellent tutor,' *ib.* ; 'left without a degree' like many others renowned, *ib.* ; Paulus Jovius translated and published in 1585, xv ; 'N. W.', *ib.* (but see under these initials in this Gl.-Index) ; 'Defence of Ryme,' the Pembroke's, xv-xvi ; John Morris, xvi ; 'Delia' sonnets, xvii ; 1591, Nashe's surreptitious publication of sonnets, *ib.* ; author's editions, *ib.* ; 'Delia' unknown, but a real 'passion' (and see under 'Delia' in this Gl.-Index) ; 'M. P.', xviii (and see under these initials and 'Pembroke' in this Gl.-Index) ; an 'M. P.' in Epistles, *ib.* ; Italy, *ib.* ; Guarini, xix ; Verses commendatory, *ib.* ; 'Complaint of Rosamond,' *ib.* ; 'Cleopatra,' *ib.* ; 'Civil Wars,' (1595), *ib.* ; 'Works,' 1600-1, *ib.* ; Whittaker's 'Craven,' xx ; presents verses to his noble pupil, *ib.* ; family-picture, *ib.* (and see Gl.-Index under 'portrait') ; letters to Egerton, xxi ; 'Laureate,' *ib.* (and see under 'Laureate') ; 'Panegyrike,' *ib.* ; Queen Anne 'taken' by him, xxi-ii ; retirement, xxii ; 'Philotas' and letters, xxii-iii ; 'theatre,' xxiii-iv ; Queen Anne again, xxiv ; marriage, xxiv-v ; Florio, xxv (and see under 'Florio') ; Fuller on his farming, *ib.* ; Groom of the Privy Chamber up to 1618, *ib.* ; 'History' royal licence, xxv-vi ; Will, xxvi-vii (and see under 'Will') ; epitaph, xxvii ; Langbaine's mistakes, *ib.* ; no Roman Catholic, xxviii (and see under 'Roman Catholic' in this Gl.-Index).—'Memorial - Introduction II.—Critical,' Vol. V., pp. vii-lvii : promise fulfilled, vii ; selected

and representative estimates, vii ; Spenser, vii-viii ; Nashe, Harvey, Churchyard, viii ; Clarke, Weever, Fitzgeoffrey, Sir John Davies, ix ; Meres, Barnfield, x ; Marston, Guilpin, xi ; 'Lucanist,' *ib.* ; Drayton, xii ; 'Returne from Parnassus,' Ben Jonson, xiii-xiv ; John Davies, Freeman, xiv-xv ; Drummond, Browne, Bolton, Penny, xvi ; Fuller, xvii-xviii ; Langbaine, xviii ; various, xix ; Wordsworth, *ib.* ; Southey, Coleridge, xx-xxiv ; Lowell, xxiv-xxv ; Minto, xxvi-vii ; Professor Saintsbury, xxvii-xxix ; Quiller-Couch, xxix-xxxii ; corrective and expository criticisms on some things in most of these, xxxi-xlv ; sevenfold claim of Daniel, xvi-vii ; admission, xvii-viii ; markings and references to noticeable places, xviii-ix ; prose, xlxi-l ; patriotism *ib.* ; references as before, li ; self-estimate of assured fame, lli ; a service rendered, one of various, lli-iii ; letter from Hatfield MSS, llii-iv ; Longleat, liv-v ; Somerset due a statue, lv ; Appendix, Drummond MS. of 'Hymen's Triumph,' lv-vii.

Dare, iii. 272 = lurking scoundrel.
Cf. Nares *s.v.* for full note.

Darwent = Derwent, iii. 314

Daughtiness, iv. 91 = dauntlessness.

Day-closing Hesperus, i. 265

Dead-alive, i. 229 ; dead-living, i. 261

Dearly purchast, ii. 101—a long-accepted phrase.

Debauchments, iii. 227 ; debauch, iii. 290 *et fr.* ; debaucht, i. 162, iv. 132 = debauchery.

Decrying = depreciating, v. 245

Deduced, iv. 7

Defaillance, iv. 210 = failure, defective ; v. 289

Defalke, iii. 112 = defalcate.

Degenerous, iv. 124

Dejection, v. 48

Delia Sonnets, i. 19—77; bibliography of, i. 20—32, 100, iii. 23. Whoso would master the reality of Daniel's love for 'Delia,' and how this passion of his 'youth' (how often this is told us!) agitated him to the innermost depths of his soul, must study these (among other) places: vol. i., pp. 33, 37, 41, 42, 43, 45, 48, 49, 50, 52, 53, 57, 59, 61, 62, 64, 67, 69, 70, 71, 73, 75, 76. The 'disdain' of his lady-love—capricious and unpredictable—seems most of all to have stung him: vol. i., pp. 39, 42, 47, 51, 52, 61, 68. Spenser had the like to bear, but conquered his 'Elizabeth' (Boyle). Of course the 'Delia sonnetrie' led to many imitators (besides of "Care-charmer Sleep"). The most noticeable that I have come across of the period is "Emanculfe. Sonnets written by E. C. Esquier" (1595). Take these parallels—

" Why do I pleade for mercie vnto thee,
When from offence my life and soule
are cleere ?

For in my heart I nere offended thee,
Vnlesse the hie pitch of my flight it
were." (Son. iii.)

" Yong Emeric yet thou crost the
destinie,
For thou surviv'st in fame that nere
shall die." (Son. xii.)

" Nature made nothing that doth ever
flourish,
And even as beautie fades, so love
doth perish." (Son. xvi.)

" I will persever ever for to love thee." (Son. vii.)

See also viii., xiii., xiv., xv., xvii.,
xix., xxvii., xxix., xxxiii. Cf.
'Delia,' Son. 48, with Drayton's 38

Delitions, i. 127 = delights.

Denizens, iv. 67

Denmark, iii. 330—renewed in our
own times abundantly.

Denovate, iv. 18

Deprave, iv. 56, 83

Desire—corrected by Author to
'desier' (reference lost). This
reminds of Milton's careful cor-
rection in the Errata of 1667-68
Paradise Lost, "read for hundreds
hunders."

Determined = settled, v. 274

Devises, v. 297—304

Devonshire, Earl of, i. xxii.-iii. 3,
169—188. The never-to-be-for-
gotten husband of Sidney's Stella.
I may be permitted to refer to
my critical examination of this
strangely mingled story in my
introductions to both my editions
of the Poems of Sir Philip Sidney.
The letter to this Earl ought to
be read along with his printed
'Apology' = *apologia* with 'Phi-
lotas'—manly and straightforward.
See also the Hatfield
letter in Memorial-Introduction
II. Critical, iv. liii.-iv.

Diamant = diamond, iv. 15, v. 298

Dictamnum, iii. 282, v. 303. Cf.
Aeneid xii. 414-15

Digenerous, iv. 124 = degenerous.

Dight, iii. 58 = arrayed.

Dimmock, Sir Edward, i. 280,
iv. 3. It may have been with Sir
Edward that Daniel travelled in
Italy and elsewhere, or the
'Charles' Dimmock who trans-
lated 'Guarini,' *q.v.* See 'Italy.'

Disafford, ii. 317 = deny. Like
'im-' 'un-' this 'dis-' is a favourite
prefix with Daniel.

Discattered, ii. 242, iii. 209, iv. 357

Disease, i. 120; iii. 356, 380 =
discomfort rather than sickness
usually; diseases enumerated
fantastically, iii. 252 = sickness,
i. 239, v. 186 = disabled

Dishatter, iii. 365

Dishivered = shattered, i. 179

Disimpester, iv. 154. Cf. 'impester'
and 'pester'—not, as now, tease
or embarrass.

Disnatur'd, i. 147, iii. 10, 389
 Dispositive, iv. 149 = disposing.
 Disrent, iii. 265
 Disrouted, v. 240
 Disvalew, i. 14
 Disweopning = disarming, i. 294
 Dividend, v. 132
 Doleances, iv. 185, 186 = griefs,
 from 'dole.'
 Dolphin, ii. 188 = Dauphin.
 Douen = Dove (river), ii. 101
 Draught = drawing, ii. 7
 Drie deaths, iii. 7 = without wounds
 (as shown by context).

Earth-quarrels, ii. 48

Eclegmats, iii. 252—another of the
 pseudo-“hideous terms of art” of
 the context.

Edmundes, Clement, i. 282

Egerton, Lord Chancellor, i. 10-11,
 191, natural son of Sir Richard
 Egerton of Ridley, Cheshire, by
 Alice, d. of a Mr. Sparke, also
 of Cheshire: b. 1539; d. March
 15th, 1617. Fuller lauds his
 venerable appearance, and says
 many went just to look at him
 (as Lord Chancellor). See Collins'
 ‘Peerage,’ iii. 190. Mr. Quiller-
 Couch falls foul, by utter mis-
 take, on one *bit* of this letter, as
 follows:—“Such hath been my
 misery, that whilst I should have
 written the actions of men, I have
 been constrained to bide with chil-
 dren, and contrary to mine own
 spirit, put out of this scene which
 nature had made my part.” On
 this ‘Q.’ thus comments: “Now
 there is but one answer to this—
 that a man of really strong spirit
 does not suffer himself to be ‘put
 out of that scene which nature
 had made my part.’ Daniel’s
 words indicate the weakness that
 in the end made futile all his
 powers; they indicate a certain
 “dannish” timidity (if I may
 use the epithet), a certain distrust

of his own genius. Such a timidity
 and such a distrust often accom-
 pany very exquisite faculties;
 indeed, they may be said to imply
 a certain exquisiteness of feeling.
 But they explain why, of the two
 contemporaries, the robust Ben
 Jonson is to-day a living figure
 in most men’s conception of those
 times, while Samuel Daniel is
 rather a ‘fleeting ghost’” (pp.
 53-54). Was ever such a tiny bit
 of fact broadened so egregiously
 into a portentous generalisation?
 Surely it was reasonable that
 Daniel, addressing the Lord Chan-
 cellor of England, should bewray
 the irksomeness of mere teaching of
 a child, and his ambition for the
 largior ether of opportunity. Con-
 ceded that Daniel pathetically
 acknowledges his “irresolution
 and distrust” (iv. 36), but it is
 to take cruel advantage of his
 modesty so to pervert a simple
 expression of weariness under his
 task-work at Appleby (spite of
 the after-splendour of his pupil).
 “Made futile,” etc., pure non-
 sense.

Eliotropium, iv. 12 = heliotrope.

Elizabeth, i. 145, 146, 150, 153, 156,
 163, ii. 232

Eloquence, dombe, i. 85. Cf. with
 Mrs. Browning’s “thunders of
 white silence,” on Power’s ‘Greek
 Slave’ in the immortal Sonnets
 from the Portuguese (so-called).

Elue = Elbe, iv. 98.

Embeseling, iv. 7

Emollition, iv. 90 = refinement,
 softening.

Emperie, iii. 315 = empire.

Empresse, iii. 213. Spenser called
 Q. Elizabeth ‘empress,’ as Lord
 Beaconsfield remembered when
 he had to vindicate his giving of
 the great title ‘Empress of India’
 to our Queen.

Encheere, i. 212 = cheer up.

England, pride in, i. 148, 177, iii. 205 *et fr.*

English tongue, superior, iv. 46

Enigmatical passions, iv. 87

Epitaph of Daniel, vol. i., xxvii: another form must at one time have existed, as follows:—

"Samuel Daniel, whose calme and blessed Spirit needs no other Testimonié
Than y^e works w^{ch} he left behinde him."

It goes on erroneously: "He was borne at Wilmington in Wiltshire, nere y^e plaine of Salisbury, in y^e yeare . . . and was buried at Beckington in Somersetshire y^e 14th of October, 1619." See *Notes and Queries*, 2nd Series, ix. 286, and Collinson's 'Somersetshire,' ii. 201

Eras = Eros, iii. 10-11, 315

Ermeline = ermine, i. 55

Errata—author on, v. 293-4

Essoines, i. 193 = excuses (for non-appearance—a legal term).

Estrayes, iii. 384; estrayed, iv. 113 = strays.

Excellence only by labour, iv. 45

Exocetions, iv. 191

Expert, i. 218 = skilled.

Fact, i. 91, ii. 36, iii. 244 = act or deed, *fr.*

Faire-fierce, i. 259

Fame = report or bruit, i. 122

Farre-commers, iv. 59

Feare, father of Zeale, ii. 53; depressed, ii. 58

Feature, iii. 58, 322 = person, Feeble-force, ii. 172; feebly-godly, ii. 92

Feele, i. 18; in 4to 1626 misprinted 'freely.'

Fermors, v. 222 = farmers.

Fido, Pastor, i. 280. See 'Guarini.'

Fifes = feoffs, iv. 174

Flight-shafts, ii. 103 = arrows.

Floore = level, iii. 307

Floren, v. 236 = florin (coin)

Florio, John, i., xxv, 283, 285, 290
Flourisht = adorned, i. 252; flourishes, iii. 123

Falkland, iv. 172 = land held by the 'common people,' as commons, etc.

Fond = foolish, iii. 260

Foote, vulgar, i. 228 = populace and their applause.

Force, i. 174 = care. Thus in the old pastoral, *Harpatus* :—

"Corin was her only joy,
Who forced her not a pin."

—Hartley Coleridge ('Essays and Marginalia,' ii. 12.)

Forlone — misprint for 'forlorne,' ii. 281, st. 65, l. 5.

Formalize, ii. 75

Formelesse forme, i. 247

Forren sinnes, i. 161

Fortunes favours, i. 177

Fragors, iii. 132 = noise, crash.

French-like, iv. 232—a hit at French frivolity.

Gabels, v. 245 (legal term).

Gate = gait, ii. 315, iii. 64

Gamed = gambled (qy. flirted?), i. 93, ii. 245

Gavel-kin, of *gif eal kin*, iv. 172 (legal).

Gemote, iv. 169 = assemblies.

Gently-severe, ii. 234

Getting = gaining, v. 161

Girkes = girds, iv. 6

Girses = girths, iv. 188

Girum, iv. 45

Godolphin, Sir William, i. 186: see all the Biographical Dicts., s.n.

Good of price, i. 264 = good at price, valuation.

Granery—Bodleian Library, i. 6 = storehouse.

Gratefulnesse, i. 287: 'graceful' in iii. 223: qy. misprint for 'grateful'

Great-Britaine i. 143—adopted on accession of James I.

Great-seeming, i. 246

Greue, iv. 169 : *Scotice* grieve.

Greville, Fulk, Lord Brooke ; his complete Works in Verse and Prose (many from his own MSS. from Warwick Castle) 4 vols. in our Fuller Worthies Library.

Grogram, iv. 20—a kind of cloth used for female dresses.

Guarini, I. xix, 72, 280.—It is clear from ll. 17—19 that Daniel and Dymocke had met and conversed with this once famous poet. It puts him in a grotesque light (albeit his lack of knowledge of our tongue extenuates) to find that, with Sidney and Spenser, only recently dead, and one William Shakespeare (not to name others) still living and in the glorious maturity of his transcendent powers, Guarini should have dared to “imbase” and prophesy our “barbarous tongue could” not “any verse bring forth.” Doubtless even ‘gentle Daniel’ repelled this arrogant folly. And to-day where is Guarini’s fame? As I write this note I find in a Sale at Sotheby’s on 20th June current a copy of the ‘Pastor Fido’ with the autograph of James Thomson, the poet of the ‘Castle of Indolence’ and ‘The Seasons,’ on the title-page.

Guidon = guerdon? iii. 312 : iv. 4

Haires = heirs, iii. 330

Happy-haplesse, ii. 250

Harbenger, iv. 127. Bp. Hall’s poem before Donne’s Satires is so designated—long undetected.

Hare-braine, iii. 243—note the spelling — sometimes wrongly ‘hair-brained.’

Harmon, iii. 225 = harmony. Word clipped for metre.

Haut, iii. 260 = haughty.

Hazlitt, W. C., mistake of, i. 21

Headlong-lightnesse, ii. 38, 118

Heare you = you hear, iv. 249

Herculean = pillars of Hercules, iii.

131

Hertford, Earl of, ii. 273. On ll. 48-9, 51-2, S. T. Coleridge annotates: “This resumption has done away the chief possible merit of this most [strange] case, by destroying its only possible moral—viz., that for our *lives* we are not answerable, but for our *actions*. If, therefore, life be offered me at the price of a bad action, let it be one or twenty, the murder is with the offerer. I die not only innocent, but virtuous. Better a thousand die than one commit a crime; for of what a *crime* is it were impiety to pretend to be ignorant; what *death* is, it were presumption to pretend to know.” (Hartley Coleridge’s “Essays and Marginalia,” ii. 15, 16.) In the letter (i. 273), l. 2, read ‘are’ for ‘as.’

Hesidus = Hesiodus, Hesiod, iv. 23

History, Collection of the, of England, iv. 69—299, v. 1—291, laboured on, i. 10, 11, ii. 8, 297, et freq.

Hitherunto, iv. 209 = hitherward.

Hobby = small horse, v. 241

Holts, iii. 241 = forests, plantations.

Homager, v. 237

Hospitaliers—Hospitallers, v. 179 : the ruins of their once great establishment prominent still in *Via Dolorosa*, Jerusalem.

Howard, Lord Henry, i. 199. One of the most renowned of all the Howards. See all the Peerages, s.n. S. T. Coleridge annotates on this poem: “A curious instance how rhymes may be *wasted*, and the poet have all the restraint and trouble, while the reader has none of the effect, except now and then a perplexed suspicion of a *jingle*, in the monotonous blank verse.” (Hartley Coleridge’s “Essays and Marginalia,” ii. 14.) Surely this is inept?

- Humour, Daniel's, iii. 251
 Hunger-starved, i. 46
 Hurlement = deranging confusion, v. 242.
Hymen's Triumph, iii. 325-98.
 See *Notes and Queries*, 3rd S., v. 347 : also good notes, 3rd S., viii. 4, 35, 52, 97
 Hypothecal, iii. 252 = hypothetical.
Hyrcan tygres, i. 42. Cf. *Macbeth*.
 iii. 4
 Idea, i. 26—Drayton's lady-love's name.
 Idolatrise, i. 86 = worship.
 If, iii. 72
 Illightens, ii. 167, 290 = enlightens.
 Imbrak'd, iii. 370 = hid in brakes.
 Imbranded, i. 181 = branded in.
 Imbrue, v. 2
 Imbud, i. 148 = bud forth.
 Imburied, iii. 147 = buried in.
 Immanity, iv. 105, 121, 176, 191
 et freq.
 Immortal, i. 230 = immortalised, ii. 96
 Imparitie, iv. 11 = inequality.
 Impester, iv. 154, v. 258. Cf.
 'Pester' and 'Dis-pester.'
 Impeople, iv. 154 = people
 Impli'd = employed, iii. 12
 Implorations, iv. 96 = supplications.
 Implunged, iii. 384 = plunged in.
 Impresitors, iii. 209
 Improbity, iv. 222
 Incaptur'd, iii. 116
 Incheering, i. 155 ; incheer'd, iii. 101
 In-common = make common, i. 5
 Incusse, iv. 91
 Indarkened, i. 50
 Indenized, i. 277
 Individuitie, iii. 219 = individuality.
 Infatigable, ii. 248 = indefatigable.
 Infestious, i. 195 : infested, ii. 166
 Ingeniate, i. 105, 181. Cf. 'geniate.'
 Ingernerate, ii. 18
 Inglut = sate, i. 5
 Inharden, iii. 5
 Innated, i. 49, ii. 92, 193, 270 =
 called into being, given birth
 See Nares, s.v.
 Innkeeper, child of, i. 279
 Insence, iv. 116
 Instarre, i. 67 = stud with stars.
 Instore, i. 154, ii. 112
 Intenerat, i. 43, iii. 279 = soften.
 Intent, i. 285, 290, ii. 162 ; intent,
 ii. 143, 229.
 Interessed, iv. 34
 Intermutuall, ii. 113 ; -lightning,
 ii. 184 ; -pause, ii. 241 ; -locke,
 iii. 108 ; -set, 321, iv. 96 ; -league,
 iii. 110.
 Intersowre, i. 134 = make sour.
 Intertraffique, i. 287, 292 = traffic
 between.
 Intreating = treating, v. 302
 Intrications, iv. 44
 Invale = veil, i. 64
 Invassal'd, i. 287, 294 ; invassals,
 iii. 229 ; invassalage, iv. 167
 Invile = vitiate, i. 247
 Invulgar'd = vulgarised, i. 247 ; in-
 vulgar, iii. 167
 Inward = intimate, v. 281
 Irish unhappy, ii. 84. Ever the
 'distressful country'—before, as
 since, the Union.
 Isthmus, ii. 203
 Italy, i. 72, ii. 220 ; declined, iii.
 26 ; Italian, i. 280, iv. 75 (and
 elsewhere). Mr. Quiller-Couch
 says, "In 1590 or 1591 he was
 dwelling in Italy, probably with
 a pupil, and no doubt busy with
 those studies that finally made
 him the first Italian scholar of
 his time" (p. 52, as before). I
 know no ground for this over-
 praise. His translations of Italian
 in *Paulus Jovius* are poor. He
 must have travelled much earlier
 than 1590-1 in Italy, probably
 with Sir C. Dymock, q.v.
 James I., i. 165, iv. 33 ; his 'Basilis-
 con Doron,' i. 150
 John, hearbe, iii. 251 = a kitchen
 garden plant (medicinal).

Jones, Inago = Inigo, iii. 207

Jones, William, i. 277

Jovius, Paulus, Preface and Epistles,
iv. 1—27 = Paolo Giovio, Bp. of
Nocera. See all the Biogr. Dicts.
s.n., for other works.

Judicall, i. 53, 100

Jumpe, iii. 110 = agree.

Justicer, ii. 190

Kind = kin, i. 81, ii. 102, iii. 281,
et freq.; kinde, kindes, i. 201, 214,
iv. 207

Kindle-fire, ii. 221, iv. 178 = mis-
chief maker, as of an incendiary,
v. 217

Knowledges, i. 165, 178 *et freq.*;
Gervase Markham, in his section
on 'cooks' and 'cookery' specifies
skill in the latter, "with all the
secrets thereto," as the "most
important of outward and active
knowledges" (*s.n.*).

Labor limæ, i. 12—15

Laboursome, i. 120, iv. 44 = wear-
ing and wearying.

Ladies, young, ii. 7

Lamped, ii. 320 = shone as a lamp.

Lancaster and Yorke, i. 159

Land-skiftan, iv. 272

Laureate.—It has somehow got to
be a tradition that Daniel suc-
ceeded Spenser as Poet-laureate
to Elizabeth. But there seems no
historic ground for either having
been more than favoured poets.
We know how wistfully Daniel
looked back on the 'spacious times
of great Elizabeth,' and how utter
was the contrast to him (even
with Queen Anne's nobly appreci-
ative and continuous favour) of
the court of James. Read and
re-read the infinitely pathetic as
beautiful 'Epistle' before 'Phi-
lotas' (iii. 99—103). None the
less I am glad to preserve here
a stanza given by Mr. Quiller-
Couch (as before), but whose

source I do not hap to know at
the moment:—

"That wreath which, in Eliza's golden
days,
My master dear, divinest Spenser,
wore;

That which rewarded Drayton's
learnèd lays,
Which thoughtful Ben and gentle
Daniel wore. . . ."

Leaning love = tottering, ii. 183

Legatine, iv. 220 = legat.

Leidger, iv. 77 = ambassador or
resident at a foreign court. See
Nares, *s.v.*, for good note.

Lesbian square, i. 195

Let = hindrance or obstacle, i. 147,
ii. 301, iii. 60, 68, *et freq.* See
Dr. W. A. Wright's 'Bible Word-
Book,' *s.v.*, on the curious changes
in use of this word; let abrode,
ii. 316

Lethe, i. 88

Letters, i. xxii, 10-11, 273; iv. liii-iv.

Live-dogges, ii. 136

Long = belong, ii. 296. Cf. 'Low.'
Lookeſ — misprint for 'locks' =
hair, ii. 316. *Sic* in 1626 4to

Lovelesſe, i. 38; love-sick, i. 102;
deep buried, ii. 47; love-quick,
ii. 81; lovingly violent, ii. 271

Low = allow, ii. 320. Cf. 'Long.'

Luctuall, iv. 122 = saddening.

Lurke = hide, i. 56; lurking, ii. 85

M'a = me a, iii. 155

Made away, ii. 197 = destroyed—
a common term still.

Madest = midst, iii. 203

Magazine = storehouse—viz., Bod-
leian Library, i. 4

Maglia, ii. 333 = magi or sooth-
sayers.

Maladive, iii. 218 = disordered.

Malicing, i. 177; maliced, ii. 190;
malice, ii. 217, 267

Mallalent, iv. 13 = qy. malice,
evil-doing?

Manz = Mentz, *i.e.* Mayence, iv.
164, 196

- Marke = object, i. 6, 247, ii. 179,
 iii. 68 : a stain or imperfection,
 i. 13
- Marseilles, iv. 89
- Martyrs = tortures, i. 27
- Menachian, iii. 256
- Mestier, iii. 315 = occupation. This
 supplies an example of this word,
 which Thomas Wright, s.v., was
 unable to give us.
- Mignion, iii. 180 = flatter. Nares
 could only cite this place. He
 spells 'mignon.'
- Mildly-sharpe, ii. 234
- Minion, i. 103, 238, ii. 24, *et freq.*
 From 'mignon' (see under
 'mignon'), pretty, dainty-looking
 person—has deteriorated since.
- Minotarre = Minotaur, i. 98
- Misdeeme = misjudge, v. 227
- Mo, ii. 238 = more.
- Modernize, iv. 35
- Modesty, Daniel's, iii. 305-6
- Moile, iii. 110 = mule.
- Momentany, v. 215
- Money, English, iv. 72 — well
 guarded as Scotch (the king's)
 was many but not much; sound-
 ing large but very little.
- Monopoly, ii. 206
- Montague, i. 285, 286, 290
- Moon, 'Night's pale queene,' i. 68
- More, Sir Thomas, iv. 41, 49
- Morton, i. 160
- Mother-country, ii. 44
- Mots, iv. 22 = mottoes and sparkling
 sayings.
- Mountjoy = Earl of Devonshire, i. 4.
 See i. xxii-iii, 178, and 'Devon-
 shire.'
- Muse-foe, i. 72 = enemy of Poetry.
- Musophilus* or Defence of Learning,
 i. 221-56
- Mutinity = mutiny, v. 191
- Muttons, iv. 176 = sheep. Cf.
 'beefes.'
- Namely, iv. 227 = especially.
- Napoleon, ii. 247: this odd thought
 (st. 91, l. 4), recalls Napoleon's
 rejoicing that the *Scots Greys* were
 so few (at Waterloo).
- Nashe, Thomas, i. 20, 26
- Nations, iii. 300—qy. misprint for
 'notions'?
- Naturall = idiot, iv. 140
- Naufrage, iv. 121 = shipwreck
- Navy, mighty English, iv. 111
- Neerer, iv. 134
- Nelson, Lord—sentiments and ap-
 peals anticipated, ii. 244
- Nephewes, ii. 10—relations not
 technical, as now.
- Neptune's mantle = ocean, i. 137
- Never the neere, iv. 50.
- Newman, Thomas, i. 20—an early
 English publisher, somewhat given
 to piracy of others' books.
- Night-wormes, iii. 226; Night,
 mother of Sleep and Fear, i. 96
- No—qy. misprint for 'none,' iii.
 128
- Nocent, v. 134
- Noxall, iii. 252 = belonging to
 night?
- Numbers: iv. 83, 92—an example
 of mistakes, 12000 being mis-
 printed 12000, which the context
 corrects.
- Obraids = upbraids, i. 130; obreyd,
 i. 173, 238, 275
- Observancy, i. 34; observance, i.
 172, 173
- Occasional poems*, i. 257-96; occasion,
 ii. 46, 66; iv. 164, 211
- Okes, Nicholas, i. 17
- Oldmixon's pamphlet, v. 295
- Omination, iv. 95 = omen, potent.
- Open-close, ii. 111
- Oppugnation, iv. 250
- Optimacie, iv. 98
- Orcades, i. 149; ii. 16
- Ordeals, iv. 119
- Our, ii. 237 = ours (stress of rhyme).
- Outfull—'d' dropped in 'doubtful,'
 ii. 13
- Over-charg'd, i. 102; over-charging,
 i. 285; over-tumbled, i. 186.
 (These are recorded simply as

specimens of a large number of familiar words combined with ‘over’).

Over-pestered, v. 150

Ouerthwart, ii. 21 = cross.

P., M., i. 55, ii. 323, iv. 13. In ii. 323 the naming of the great Countess simply Mary Pembroke perhaps warrants our accepting the M. P. as meant for her. In Mr. Huth's Library the presentation-copy by Daniel to the Countess of the ‘Panegyrike,’ etc. (1603), has M. P. stamped in gold on the sides—another confirmation. Yet one still asks if she might not be his ‘Delia’?

Pack-bearing, iii. 113 = burden-bearing.

Painful = painstaking, i. 281. In old Puritan title-pages and beneath portraits ‘painful’ is often found.

Palladines, i. 23 = belonging to Court = palatine.

Panegyrike Congratulatione to the King, i. 139-67

Partage = division, i. 126

Particular, i. 253, ii. 213 = special friend; personal property, iv. 34

Partie = individual, i. 27, 92, ii. 58, 220, 234, *et freq.*; party-coloured, iii. 201. Query—does ‘party’ = individual explain the usage of ‘party’ politically as = following an individual, e.g., Gladstone or Beaconsfield? And party-coloured not so much part-coloured or in stripes as the colours of the leader, as aforesaid?

Pass or passport and to be approved, ii. 330

Passing-bell, ii. 108

Pearles = teeth, i. 49

Pectoral, i. 88, (1) armour for the breast, (2) a priest's stole, (3) collarpiece of a horse, iv. 188

Peircible, ii. 386

Pembroke, Mary, Countess of, i. 33,

34, 35, ii. 5, 323, iii. 23-4, 123, iv. 36 *sq.* Cf. ‘P., M., Her ‘Anthony’ (1592) after ‘Garnier’ (1595) ought long since to have been reprinted; ii. 5-8, 298-9

Pembroke, William, Earl of, iv. 35 *sq.*—glimpses of domestic life of Daniel with him.

People-minions, ii. 239

Perdurable, ii. 176 = durable for ever.

Period, i. 47; as ‘end’ precedes, here must be = rest from or ease, iii. 57

Persecute the letter, iv. 8—alliteration and playing on words.

Peru, i. 154

Pester, iv. 120 = plague or trouble; pesture, v. 6

Pested = crowded, i. 196, iii. 323, iv. 236; pester, iv. 20. Cf. ‘Impester,’ ‘Dispester,’ etc. It seems odd that neither Nares nor Wright nor Halliwell-Phillips has recorded this word in above sense. Earlier and later we have examples of it in this meaning: e.g., early, though Holland “all rivers and pools would be so *pestered* full with fishes, that a man would see nothing else”; later, Dryden in *Essay on Dramatic Poetry*—“Shakespeare's whole style is so *pestered* with figurative expressions, that it is as affected as it is obscure”—nonsense, though said by “glorious John.”

Petrarch, iv. 48, *et freq.*

Philotas, iii. 95-181.

Phy phy, ii. 234 = fie! fie!

Pikes, iv. 134 = piques?

Pillowes = pillars, iii. 316. We have this word thus spelled in Greene's “Selimus” (i. 1398)

“Are these the sacred pillowes that support
The image of true magnanimitie?”
‘Works,’ our ed., vol. xiv.)

Plaister = whitewash, iii. 109.

Plot, iv. 198 = portion.

Poems, ed. 1718, 2 vols.—a copy in British Museum, with notes by Tieck (11607, b 2)—utterly barren. See under 'Wordsworth.'

Pompey great pirat, i. 204

Pontifical = pontifical, iv. 168

Portrait, i. 20-21. Lord Hothfield informs me that the family-painting is still at Appleby, but in bad preservation. He also holds out a hope of the 'Diary' of the great Countess (Lady Anne Clifford) being printed if not published. It ought to prove a treasure-trove.

Poster = postman, i. 39

Practise, i. 101, iv. 128 = conspire; practises, iv. 129, iii. 36, practised, ii. 24, iv. 105.

Pray thee = prithee, iii. 113

Prejudicious, iv. 247

Pretendencies, i. 147 ; = pretending, ii. 10 = claiming; pretended, ii. 70, iii. 181 ; pretenderest, ii. 185 ; pretend, ii. 239, iv. 130

Prevented, ii. 219, iii. 18, 90, 178 ; preventing, ii. 225 ; prevent, ii. 253 = to anticipate. So in A.V. of Ps. cxix. 148, "My eyes prevent (= wake before) the night-watches."

Princock, iii. 388 ; sometimes 'princox' = pert, forward youth. So *Romeo and Juliet* (i. 5), "You are a saucy boy . . . you are a princox: go."

Private, v. 225

Prizall, iii. 39

Prospective = perspective, i. 51, 244, 273 ; iii. 311 ; iv. 57

Prostate = prostrate (*misprint*), i. 235 ; prostrateth, ii. 236

Proteus-like, ii. 41

Put her by, ii. 86 = deny her or make idle excuse; put to, ii. 223

Quicke = alive, active, iv. 203. Perhaps no single obsolete word has more puzzled young people more especially, than 'quick' as found in the Authorised Version

of our English Bible: e.g., Num. xvi. 30 ; Ps. Iv. 15, cxxiv. 3 ; Acts x. 42 ; 2 Tim. iv. 1. Poetically it is still a living word: e.g., in a recent volume of verse by one of whom more must surely be heard ere very long—"A Shropshire Lad," by A. E. Housman (Kegan Paul) 1896 :—

"To South the headstones cluster,
The sunny mounds lie thick;
The dead are more in muster
At Hugeley than the quick."

Quip, iv. 23.

Rabious, iv. 118 = furious—qy. corruption from *rabies*? or our earlier form of 'rabid'?

Raind = reined, i. 55, iii. 112, iv. 118 ; raineth, ii. 173

Ramassed, qy. = re-massed? v. 239

Ramescot, iv. 123

Rayling rimes, ii. 90

Raze—misprint for 'rage,' i. 269; or qy. is 'rase' [*sic*] = erasure or ceasing?

Reames = realms, ii. 42, iii. 92. So Spenser, Sir John Harrington (Daniel's fellow-countryman) and others.

Reaven = riven, wrinkled, i. 265

Recissorie, iii. 252 = cutting off (pseudo-legal term).

Reconcilement, ii. 67, 70

Regiment = rule, government, i. 175, 185, iii. 255, iv. 87. John Knox gave Elizabeth and Mary deadly offence by his famous book on the "Monstrous Regiment of Women." Nares s.v. gives several examples.

Relics, absurd, iv. 151.

Remiss'd, iii. 161 = remitted, slackened.

Remotion, iv. 149 = removal.

"This act persuades me
That this *remotion* of the duke and her
Is practice only."

(*Lear*, II. iv. 115.)

Cf. 'Practise.'

- Remutining, iv. 163 = mutiny or rebel again.
- Republique, i. 163, ii. 300, 313
- Repugne, v. 101
- Resentiment, ii. 137 = returned emotion—now deteriorated.
- Resigned, iv. 260—misprinted in all the texts ‘designed.’
- Respective, i. 249, ii. 33, 75, *et freq.* = relating to or pertaining.
- Retchlesse, ii. 232 = careless—form of ‘reckless.’
- Retire, ii. 332, iii. 54 = retirement; retiring, i. 92, ii. 139; retires, iv. 181
- Retortion, v. 8
- Retribution, iv. 205 = requiting—now deteriorated, mainly by theological *dogmatique*; v. 269 = recompense.
- Reuchlin, iv. 49
- Rhetorique, silent, i. 85, iii. 286
- Rigor, i. 103 = sudden chill.
- Rivers, celebrated, iii. 313, *et sq.*
- Roade = way, iv. 114, 135—extended *freq.* to ‘road-stead’ = harbour.
- Robustious, iii. 153, iv. 135 = ‘robust.’ So Milton of Samson :—
- “Those *robustious* locks redundant to no purpose.”
- (*Sam. Ag.*, 569.)
- Rochester, Viscount, iv. 75—afterwards, eheu! the infamous Earl of Somerset. He was one of the Scots who came to England on the accession of James I. He was knighted in 1607, was created Viscount Rochester in 1611 and Earl of Somerset in 1613. He got entangled with the notorious Countess of Essex, who contrived to obtain a decree of nullity in order to marry him. This marriage, as everybody knows, was bravely and nobly opposed by Somerset’s own friend Sir Thomas Overbury. It has been misalleged that it was mainly on

political grounds, because the Countess, by birth Frances Howard, was of the Spanish or pro-Catholic party. But those who know Overbury recognise a higher moral *motif*. In revenge she plotted successfully to get Overbury imprisoned in the Tower, and subsequently had him poisoned there, undoubtedly with Somerset’s connivance. The terrible crime remained a secret, and the marriage was celebrated on Dec. 26th, 1613. Besides the epistle-dedicatory of his History and other addresses to him by Daniel, this evil man and his still more evil wife similarly seduced Donne, Campion, and Ben Jonson. Donne’s *Epithalamion* remains, and Campion’s *Masque* and a “set of verses” by “rare Ben,” as well as his *Hymenaei* for the murderer’s former wedding. Later, Somerset (Carr or Ker) fell into disfavour with James. I fear it was only seemingly, and because the King knew too much of the whole damnable story. The murder was first clearly discovered in 1615. The parties were prosecuted by Bacon, found guilty, sentenced, reprieved, committed to the Tower until 1622, and then were allowed to live in semi-retirement. Marston has not over-painted their hideous career in his *Insatiate Countess*.

Roman Catholic—every one will agree with Fuller in rejecting the allegation that Daniel leant to Roman Catholicism, who studies these among many places : iv. 193, 194, 215, 248, 273, v. 37, 72, 89, 90, 92, 96, 98, 105, 116; his devoutness, i. 249-50. Cf. also opening of the Will, i. xxvi, xxviii) — out-and-out Protestant.

Roman walls, i. 66

Rosamond, complaint of, i. 79-113
Rought = wrought, iv. 24
Roule = revolve, i. 206, 214; rowling, i. 210
Round, i. 98 = circle, iii. 4
Routs or costerels, iv. 276
Row, fill up the, i. 243
Rubies = lips, i. 85. Cf. 'Pearls.'
Ruthfull, i. 29; *ruthlesse*, i. 49, 50.
 So 'rue' = lament, ii. 86
Ryme; defence of, iv. 29-67; overmultiplied rhymes, iv. 44

Sad, iv. 225 = gloomy, calamitous.
Sallets = sallads, iii. 282. So Shakespeare, freq.
Samford, Hugh, iv. 65
Sarazine = Saracen, iv. 138
Satrapies, iii. 166—from Persian governors of a province.
Scotland praised, and story of, v. 165, 166, 171, 172, 174, 175, 176, 186, 187, 188, 209. See under 'Wallace, Sir William.'
Scritche = screech, v. 299
Scutes, v. 266
Season, knew the, ii. 43. Cf. Isaiah 1. 4.
Secretary, i. 117, iii. 379; of Nature, iv. 7—often applied to Aristotle and to Bacon.
Seneca, iv. xliv. Pope long since said, "Sackville imitates the manner of Seneca's tragedies very closely, and writes without affectation or bombast; the two great sins of our oldest tragic writers" (Singer's edition of Spence's 'Anecdotes' [1858] p. 16). That Pope also said, "Samuel Daniel the historian is unpoetical, but has good sense often" (p. 17), is on a par with other of his nonsensical critical judgments—e.g., "Crashaw is a worse sort of Cowley"—"Herbert is lower than Crashaw," and the like. See Mr. J. W. Cunliffe's monograph, *The Influence of Seneca on Elizabethan Tragedy*.

Sentinel = watch-tower, v. 242
Set = setting, i. 83; new-setting, i. 194; setting fortune, ii. 56.
Seton, Lord and Lady, fine incident finely told, v. 214-15
Shadow = overshadow, i. 64, ii. 46, iv. 3; shadows, ii. 216; shadowing, iii. 128—present-day meaning is to 'spy on'.
Sheafe-arrowes = sheaf, ii. 303
Shore's wife, i. 82
Shot, iv. 265 = reckoning, price, score—now vulgarised, but in Bailey's Dictionary (1732), s.v.
Sides, i. 175, 204, 249, iv. 137, 177; bended, ii. 273; sided, iv. 181. Daniel's use (frequent) of this seems somewhat peculiar.
Sidney, Sir Philip, i. 20, 33, 176, 239, 267, iii. 26
Sight = sighed, ii. 44; vision, iii. 70
 'Silent rhetorique,' i. 85, iii. 286
Silly = innocent, harmless, i. 54, iii. 389
Smokes, i. 31, iii. 42; of innovations, ii. 56; smoke, i. 183, 204, iii. 33
Smoothing = flattering, i. 215, iii. 129
Snaring = entangling, insidiously ensnaring, i. 45
Soldian, v. 105
Sommitie, iv. 3 = summit.
Sound = swoon, i. 133, ii. 110 = fathom? sounding, ii. 212; sownes = swoons. Cf. 'swounding.'
Southampton, Earl of, i. 217—Shakespeare's friend. I have large materials collected over many years for an adequate Life. Cf. *Coriolanus*, Act iv., sc. I, 'trier . . . cunning,' with this Epistle to Southampton, "It is not," etc.
Spacious State, i. 148
Spenser, Edmund, i. 73, 75, 239, ii. 175, 177, iii. 26
Spill, ii. 304; spoil, i. 61, qy. fall? ii. 151, 186
Spits in his mouth, iii. 221—folklore custom.
Square, i. 152, 161, 228, iii. 110;

- squar'd, i. 157; out of, ii. 277 = measure; also equality.
- Stagger, iv. 198. The oddest use of 'stagger' is in the famous Scotch political treatise of "Staggering State of Scottish Statesmen."
- States = conditions, ii. 180 (st. 19)
- Staunch = stench, i. 80
- Steemes = esteemes, i. 39. Cf. 'Long,' 'Low,' etc.
- Sterling of England, iv. 296; sterling spelled stirulin, v. 261
- Sterne = helm, i. 162, 235, iii. 159, iv. 152
- Sticke to doe, v. 7
- Stonehenge, i. 236
- Store = restore, i. 94. Cf. 'Long,' 'Low,' 'Steemes.'
- Stout-defended, ii. 31
- Stratagemical, v. 298
- Strooke, ii. 264. So Milton, *Paradise Lost*, ii. 165; H. 95
- Subelevation, iv. 157 = elevation (from under).
- Suckors, v. 131
- Sugar, iv. 199—this remained long a favourite word till the article had lost the romance of its introduction.
- Sullivation, iii. 125. See 'Subelevation.'
- Suspect = suspicion, i. 57, 98, 125, 200 *et freq.*
- Swage = assuage, ii. 269
- Swannet, iii. 100 = young swan, *i.e.* a Poet. I suppose Drayton was intended.
- Swallows, Summer, iii. 33 = friends during prosperity.
- Sweet-sowre, iii. 68
- Swounding = swooning, iii. 8
- Sylvester, Joshua, i. 281. See under Du Bartas.
- Syndigo, iv. 256
- Syndrome, iii. 255
- Table = tablet, i. 45
- Table-frame, iii. 244
- Taking thence, ii. 97. Cf. Shakespeare "his speedy taking off"
- (*Lear*, v. 1); "the deep damnation of his taking off" (*Macbeth*, i. 7)
- Tasso, iv. 48
- Tax'd, ii. 200, iii. 102 *et freq.*; taxe = accuse, i. 287; taxing, iii. 50
- Tethys Festival*, iii. 301-13
- Tetrafoil, iii. 282
- Tewdor = Tudor, iv. 77
- Then = than, i. 8; so throughout.
- The-while, ii. 160, 203
- Thebes-founder, ii. 229
- Thermes = baths, iv. 101
- Thoughts-maze, i. 48; thought, iii. 255
- Thrall, i. 30, 126, 244
- Thunder-cracks, i. 204, iii. 146; thundering murmurs, ii. 152
- Tickle, i. 178 = insecure.
- Tigers, Hyrcan, i. 49. See under 'Hyrcan.'
- Tillers, i. 229
- Time-giver, iv. 158
- Tincture, iii. 145
- To = too, i. 173, 264, 269, *et freq.*; too too, i. 122, iv. 10, *sq.*; too good to be true, iii. 294; to her, iii. 91, note.
- Told = numbered, iii. 342. So Milton, as in the 'telling' of the flock by the shepherd.
- Tooke, ii. 189, iii. 260 = taken. So Shakespeare, "vengeance might have *tooke*" (*M. for M.* ii. 2)
- Touch = test, i. 14, 117, 134, *et fr.*; touch = magnetised, i. 72, 119; touches, i. 156; tender touch = tickle, insecure, ii. 143
- Toyle, golden, i. 263, ii. 163, iii. 269
- Traduce = lead, i. 211. Contemporaneously and onward 'traduce' was used as = speaking evil of a person or decrying: *e.g.* in a quaint and powerful anonymous tractate "Of the Blasphemie against the Holy Ghost" (1646), I have chanced on this: "How transcendent a crime it was, to traduce that power by which our Saviour

- wrought His miracles ! ” (p. 4) ; but in Daniel it = lead out and away.
- Traine, i. 198, 201, 247, ii. 137, 215 ; train'd, i. 94, 123, 162, *et freq.* = to lead and mislead ; = procession, iv. 86
- Transmigration, iv. 89, 102
- Transpasse, i. 264 = to pass by ; transpassage, i. 286, 291 = passage beyond.
- Trim, iv. 42
- Trochises, iii. 252 (pseudo-legal term as in context).
- Trouble-States, ii. 144 = agitators.
- Trussell, John, iv. xvii.
- Truth, ever sought, iv. 78
- Turn-backe, ii. 9 = Civil War, subject of the poem.
- Turne, serv'd well the, ii. 200 — a proverbial saying.
- Twelve Goddesses, Vision of*, iii. 183-205
- Twinding, v. 301
- Tyburne, called the Elmes, v. 210
- Tyran, i. 260, ii. 189 ; tyrannise, ii. 45. So in Spenser and *freq.* contemporaneously, and even much later still ‘tyran.’
- Tyring, i. 225 = exhausting.
- Tything-man, iv. 170
- Unbase, i. 218 = not base.
- Unbelieve, iii. 356 = disbelieve or cease from believing.
- Unboldned = timorous, i. 33
- Uncivil'd, iii. 382 = not civilised.
- Uncomb'd, iii. 298 = without toilet.
- Uncomprehend, i. 246 = not comprehend.
- Unconcurrent, ii. 194. Cf. ‘Con-current.’
- Uncrased, v. 54
- Uncredit, iii. 356 = discredit, disbelieve. Cf. ‘Unbelieve.’
- Uncurious, i. 193 = incurious.
- Undasht, ii. 243 = undaunted.
- Undazing, i. 201 = not dazzling.
- Undecencie, iv. 211 = indecency.
- Undiscreet = indiscreet, ii. 29
- Undistasted, i. 14 = unvitiated.
- Unfashion'd, iii. 298 = unfashionable.
- Ungrac'd, i. 236 = not graced.
- Unguilty, i. 132, ii. 44, 275 = not guilty
- Unhonorable, ii. 63 = not honourable.
- Unhouse, ii. 155, iii. 73 = deprive
- Unintermixt, ii. 12 = not mixed.
- Universall, ii. 53
- Unjustest, ii. 39 ; unjustice, iii. 266
- Unken'd, i. 96 = unknown.
- Unmanners, v. 140
- Unmatchable, i. 33
- Unmaterial, ii. 199 = immaterial, unimportant.
- Unmoveable, ii. 199 = immovable.
- Unparadis'd, i. 97 = my paradise lost.
- Unpartiall, ii. 68, iii. 195 = impartial.
- Unpassee, iii. 239 = withdraw.
- Unperfect, iv. 17, 56 = imperfect. So A.V. Ps. cxxxix. 16, ‘my substance being yet unperfect.’
- Unpolished labors, iv. 4. I fear this grew into a mere pseudo-modest phrase. Even Shakespeare succumbed to it in dedicating his Sonnets, etc.
- Unproportionate, ii. 226 = disproportionate.
- Unquicke, iv. 122 = not quick.
- Unreconcileable, ii. 62 = irreconcilable.
- Unrein'd, = without rein or control, i. 162, ii. 217.
- Unright, i. 128, ii. 190 = wrong.
- Unscant = undiminished, i. 252
- Unshadowed, i. 252 = not shadowed . or strained.
- Unsicke, iii. 58 = not sick.
- Unsinews, i. 241, iii. 7 = weakens.
- Unsubject, i. 52 = not subject.
- Unsure, i. 53, 134, ii. 56 = not sure.
- Untomb'd, iv. 125 = without a tomb, un-remembered.
- Untranspassable, iii. 94. Cf. ‘Transpasse.’

Unusing, iii. 116 = not using.
 Unwet, i. 205 = tearless.
 Unwitting, i. 27, iii. 39 = unknowing.
 Unwresting, ii. 47 = not wrestling or wronging.
 Upbray = upbraid, i. 92
 Usager, ii. 133 = user.
 Usances, iii. 299 = usages.
 Usurers, v. 229
 Utter = circulate, iv. 72

Vant-guard, ii. 304, iv. 147 = vanguard.
 Vapouring = breathing, i. 109
 Variousnesse, iii. 9 = variety.
 Venerable, iii. 25—odd use of the word to a lady, but = revered.
 Vent, iv. 95
 Venter = venture, iii. 78 *et freq.*
 Verdite = verdict, iv. 14
 Verulam, iv. 92
 Vicinage, iv. 101 = neighbourhood.
 Vi'd, iii. 118, iv. 229, 221 = vied.
 Vies, iv. 229, 231 = playing against?
 Vildly, i. 110: vilde, i. 107 = vilely, vile.
 Vize = assize?, v. 146. Is this same as 'Vies'?
 Voutsafe, i. 4, iv. 221 = voucher-safe.
 Voyage, iv. 193, 217—used contemporarily alike of land and sea journeys.
 Voycing, ii. 131 = expressing.
 Vulture-gnawne, i. 46—the classic myth of Prometheus.

W., N. Putting the facts together as found in Wood's 'Athenæ Oxonienses,' this was most probably Nicholas Whithalk, of Merton College, Oxford, author of "Christiane Fidei ac Veræ Religionis Compendium, in locos communes digestum et nunc primum in vulgus emissum: London, 1575." The lighter nature of the subject of his Epistle to Daniel probably explains his initials only

appearing therein. He, like Daniel, was "much respected by Mr. Camden and Thomas Saville for his learning." (*Ath. Ox.*, by Bliss, i. 425.)
 Waftage, i. 81 = transportation. So Shakespeare—
 " Like a strange sail upon the Stygian banks
 Staying for waftage."
(Troilus and Cres., iii. 2, xi.)

Waighes = estimates, ii. 205
 Wait = lying-in, v. 181
 Waites = weights, iv. 157
 Wake, Queen's, iii. 303, made immortal by JAMES HOGG in his marvellous poem of this title.
 Wakefield Green, ii. 288—famous by Robert Greene's 'Pinner.'
 Wallace, Sir William, of Scotland—high character of, v. 163-4
 Waller, Edmund, ii. 167, st. 84 (last couplet) is long anticipated in a famous passage here.
 Walthery, iii. 351 = wealthily.
 Wantonize, i. 94, iii. 242
 Warelesse, ii. 114, 217 = unwary.
 Watchet, iii. 313 = pale or light blue.
 Water-cold, i. 40. Cf. 'key-cold' in *Richard III.*, I. ii. 5.
 Waterson, Simon, i. xxvi, 17, 20
 Weares = weirs, fishing dams, v. 252
 Weed, iii. 148, 202 = garment, as still we speak of a 'widow's weeds.'
 Weigh-back, ii. 198 = oppressing.
 West = America—Bp. Berkeley long anticipated, iv. 87
 Whereas = whereat, i. 84, 85 *et freq.*
 Whings = wings, i. 58. So 'whither' = wither, i. 46. 'Whings' is Somerset spelling, e.g. in a well-known Somersetshire poem—
 " Good bywe ta thee cot!" of the 'dumbledores' [= bumble-bees]
 " Shakyn ther whings, thā vleed vooāth an awā."

White, iii. 203 = object or mark in centre of an arrow-board, etc.

Wicliffe, v. 282-3. This somewhat purblind judgment of the 'Morning Star of the Reformation' stands alone in Daniel's verdicts on historic names. I for one felt sorry to read the passage. It is just possible it was this low appreciation of Wickliffe that originated the gossip-rumour mentioned by Fuller, iv. xvii.-xviii.; but see under 'Roman Catholic.'

Will of Danyell, i. xxvi.-vii. I do not know how I overlooked (i. xxv) that a sister (married to Bowre) is named in the Will; but this in nowise elucidates John Florio's relationship to Daniel. Mr. Quiller-Couch names him without hesitation his 'brother-in-law,' but I still question.

Willlobie, i. 279. Our 'Unique and Rare Books' reproduces this very striking and valuable Shakespearean book.

Winchester, Montagu, Bp. of, i. 294—notorious rather than famous. See Dict. of Nat. Biogr. s.n. The poem is laboured and obscure in some of its allusions.

Winter-wither'd, i. 62

Woman'd, iii. 370—as we say 'married.'

Wordsworth, Vol. V., pp. xix, xli.
As I was passing this through the

press a sale-catalogue at Sotheby's, of selected books from Wordsworth's Library, included his copy of Daniel's Poems (2 vols., 1718). In the catalogue it is stated that in one of the vols. (vol. i.) is a MS. note of the grandfather of the great poet. For grandfather read grandson, as the date (1858) shows—viz., by William Wordsworth, Esq., LL.D., C.I.E., late of Elphinstone College, Bombay. His note is as follows:—"This copy of the Works of Daniel is from the library at Rydal Mount. The volumes were among my grandfather's especial favourites, and were frequently in his hands.—Wm. Wordsworth, from Rydal Mount, March 1858."

Wote, ii. 316 = God wots or knows.

Would, ii. 50, 85

Wreck = wreak, i. 62

Wretchlesse, i. 94. Cf. 'Retchlesse.'

Wrinch = wrench, iii. 284

Yet—qy. get, iii. 281

"York and Lancaster"—applied for authority to print: Arber's Stat. Reg., ii. 313, 1593

Young-age, ii. 197

Zenocrates, i. 57—of course Xenocrates the philosopher.

END OF VOL. V.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

Vol. IV., p. 195, l. 20, for "An" read "And."

" " P. 221, l. 18, for "Herui" read "Henri."

" " P. 286, l. 4 from bottom, for "honorati" read "honorari."

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